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ABSTRACT

This resource unit, developed by the University of Minnesota's Project Social Studies, introduces eighth graders to political parties and elections. Ways in which political scientists study voting behavior, sampling techniques, problems arising from interpreting findings, and the use of correlational studies are presented. The unit includes an analysis of political behavior of voters in which students set up hypotheses about voter behavior and check them against data in numerous tables. They figure out limitations of the data in the tables and what other kinds of data that are needed before drawing conclusions. The first of two content outlines presents an organized body of content to illustrate the relationship of the content of the unit to the major generalizations and teaching activities. The second outline suggests the order in which content might be taught. Objectives are listed and supplementary readings are appended along with several classroom exercises. Teacher's guide is SO 007 511. (Author/KSM)

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Grade Eight
UNIT II: POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

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RESOURCE UNIT

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INTRODUCTION TO UNIT

Since this unit is the first real unit of the year, it introduces many more objectives than some of the other units. It is important to introduce pupils to a series of skills which will be reinforced later in the year. It is also important to set the tone of the course in terms of scholarly values and methods of inquiry. The unit introduces pupils to a series of important concepts and generalizations which they should test through data within this unit and in later units.

Unlike most resource units, this unit includes two outlines of content. This is done because so many of the teaching procedures can be used to teach more than one major idea. The first outline of content presents an organized body of content to illustrate the relationship of the content of the unit to the major generalizations. Column III in this section of the resource unit shows the teacher which activities of the unit will help teach this part of the outline of content. Outline #1 is <u>not</u> to be taught in the order presented.

The second outline of content is the one which suggests the order in which content might be taught. It should be noted that this order introduces pupils to problems related to political parties and elections before they study any aspect of the unit in more detail. (See Roman Numeral I). There is then an effort to show pupils that individual efforts can count in the political process. (See Roman Numeral II). Finally, pupils turn to a more detailed analysis of the unit topic. The rest of the material suggests a number of possible reforms, which pupils should analyze in terms of: (a) their effectiveness in achieving the goals perceived for the reforms, and (b) possible problems which these reforms raise (unperceived or latent effects).

To help teachers make the fullest use of each suggested activity, the column after each activity tells the teacher which part of outline number 1 can be taught through this activity. By referring back to this first outline, the teacher should be able to focus the activity more sharply.

Obviously, there are more teaching procedures listed than can be used with any one class. The teacher should select in terms of such factors as: (a) the general ability and interest level of the class, (b) individual differences among class members in terms of ability, interests, and previous background, (c) whether or not the unit is being taught during an election year, (d) the

community in which he is teaching, (e) whether or not the class or most members of the class have been exposed to earlier years of this Project Social Studies Curriculum, and (f) the amount of time available.

The teacher using this unit in the eighth grade in a non-election year should make a brief notation about which activities he used and what students were in the class. This list should be turned over to the 9th grade teacher in the school for use the next year. During that year, pupils will apply what they have learned and expand their knowledge of political parties and elections by studying the current election campaign as part of their current affairs program.

References in the column under Materials of Instruction are to original books and articles rather than to the adaptations prepared by the Project Social Studies staff for experimental purposes. The selections listed were adapted by omitting some of the more difficult words, sentences, and paragraphs and using explanatory material or words in brackets to present the gist of the ideas omitted. Footnotes were used to explain difficult words which were left in the selections because they were important for pupils to learn. The Curriculum Center obtained permission to make these adaptations for a mimeographed collection of readings to be used in the two-year experimental program. The plan is to work out arrangements with a commercial publisher to print the collection at some future time.

UNIT OBJECTIVES

The objectives listed here are not to be achieved in total within this one unit. However, progress should be made toward developing the following objectives:

Generalizations.

1. All societies have potential conflict among their members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.
   a. In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; the conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.
   b. Struggle may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflicts where primarily pragmatic interests of participants are involved.
   c. Conflict serves to establish and maintain the identity and boundary lines of societies and groups.
   d. Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.
   e. Compromise is most likely to occur where there is a relative equality of power and therefore something approaching a deadlock in the decision.
   f. Compromise is more easily achieved in those political systems in which there is agreement on questions touching the fundamental social, economic, and political institutions.
   g. Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.
   h. Compromise is easier where there is not an ideological perception of the issues; that is, where the issues are not moralized and not seen as related to other issues.
   i. Compromise is often achieved in the political system by reliance on ambiguous symbols, words, etc. or by postponing the substantive resolution of disagreement by an empty formula.
   j. Societies must work out some means of accommodating differences if violence is to be avoided.

2. The individual participant in the political process approaches the process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals.
   a. A person's political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals are learned through a process of political

socialization.

b. One of the major causes of factionalism within a group is the involvement of some of its members in other groups or organizations which have competing goals and values.

c. Freedom is to a large extent culturally determined; the individual has to be taught what the options are, how one goes about exercising them, why he should exercise them, and a desire to exercise them.

d. Political activity, by which the individual seeks his goals and interests through the political system, takes any number of forms, depending on the nature of the system, and varies greatly in incidence.

e. Members of any group are attracted to it for varying reasons, some of which have nothing to do with the goals of the organization.

3. Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures created for them by communicators; they react to these images rather than to the real world and real people.

4. Political organizations act in the political system to organize and mobilize political power of individuals or aggregates behind candidates for office and policy alternatives.

a. The number of political parties in the system will depend on the basic nature of the cohesions and conflicts in the society, on the government structure, and on the electoral system.

b. The electoral and ideological functions of a political party are almost always in competition with each other. In order to build majority support the party in a plural society has to make compromises as to the conflicting attitudes, interests, and ideologies in the society.

c. Groups have latent (hidden or unexpressed) functions as well as manifest (expressed) functions.

d. The structure and functions political parties assume depend on the political culture of the system and on the functional demands of the political system itself.

e. No interest group pursues its goals entirely through the political system; it is drawn into political activity only in specific instances of goal-seeking.

f. The interest group attempts to bring aggregates of influence to bear on decision-makers by attempts to frame the possible choices the decision-makers have, by direct influence, by education, and by attempts to control the selection of the decision-makers.

g. The effectiveness of interest groups

may depend on the degree of internal cohesion they can maintain within the organization and on the human and material resources they can mobilize.

h. The interest group serves an important role in activating and socializing its members into political activity.

i. The larger, the more complex, and the more heterogeneous the society, the greater the number of organizations and associations that exist within it.

5. Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy; the concept of one man -- one vote insures only a minimum opportunity for influence.
   a. Members of any organized group delegate responsibilities and rights; they assign certain role behaviors. This division of labor is likely to create hierarchial authority relationships.
   b. The basic distribution of power reflects the basic unequal distribution of resources, skills, and motivation in the society.
   c. Political power is affected by access to political decision-makers.
   d. Political power may rest in formal governmental positions, but it need not.

6. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and harmony and must also organize its strategies to provide intellectual leadership; the type of leader will differ according to different situations.
   a. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and harmony and must also organize its strategies to provide intellectual leadership.
   b. One of the major strategic decisions which the leadership faces is the deployment and use of the resources of the organization with maximum efficiency and effect.
   c. The intellectual and harmonizing functions of leadership are rarely combined in the same person.
   d. Leaders are usually chosen for the qualities members think needed at the moment. Leaders who fit one situation may not fit another.
   e. The style of the leader is determined by the expectations of the membership as well as by personal traits of the leader himself.

7. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizen as well as from citizen to government.

a. Democracy is dependent upon the efforts of the people and their willingness to study issues, hold offices, do jobs.

8. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.
   a. The vote decision of an individual can be important in affecting the outcome of an election.
   b. Any decision is, in part, a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.
   c. Decision-making is affected by other people including members of primary groups.
   d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.
   e. Attempts to abstract political decision-making from the pressures of the political system (from politics) have not succeeded.

9. Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues for responses they suggest. However, no country lives up to its ideology completely.

10. Freedom's relationship to democracy is a close and obvious one; the organization of majorities, the competition in goals, and the ability to oppose which democracy presupposes all depend on a high degree of personal freedom.

11. Government action may protect or restrict rights of individuals and groups.

12. Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.

13. There are no easy solutions to social problems; since most social problems arise from multiple causes, simple solutions are unlikely to do away with all of the causes. Moreover, the solution to one problem may give rise to other problems.

14. Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.

15. The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

Skills

1. Attacks problems in a rational manner.
   a. He considers possible hypotheses and deduces possible consequents to guide collection of data.
   b. He considers possible consequences of alternative courses of action.

2. Locates information.
   a. Uses Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature.
   b. Uses general almanacs.
   c. Uses state legislative manual.
   d. Skims to locate information.
   e. Uses index effectively.

3. Gathers information
   a. Reads for the main idea or ideas; summarizes what is read.
   b. Reads for details (which support or contradict generalizations and main ideas; identifies words and phrases which are intended to persuade; identifies assumptions, stated and unstated).
   c. Adjusts reading rate to purpose and type of material.
   d. Increases his understanding of social studies vocabulary by studying context in which words are used.
   e. Draws inferences from tables, graphs, and charts.
   f. Gains information by listening, and adjusts note taking to type of oral presentation.
   g. Gains information through interviews.
   h. Increases his accuracy of observation through the use of questionnaires and content analysis.
   i. Uses simple sampling techniques.

4. Evaluates information.
   a. Distinguishes between relevant and irrelevant information.
   b. Checks on the bias and competency of sources of information.
   c. Distinguishes between facts, inferences, and value judgements.
   d. Identifies and examines assumptions to decide whether he can accept them.
   e. Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.
      1) Rejects assumption of cause-effect relationship in correlations; looks for another factor which may affect both parts of correlation.
      2) Rejects post-hoc arguments.
      3) Is sceptical of single-factor theories of causation.
      4) Rejects whole-part arguments and insists upon further data.
      5) Identifies card stacking.

6) Is alert to the use of biased years.
7) Examines sample used in study to see if it is representative of population for which generalizations are being made.
8) Constantly looks for causative factors other than those mentioned in source of information.

f. Identifies inconsistencies.

5. Organizes, and analyzes information and draws tentative conclusions.
   a. Classifies data.
   b. Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data.
   c. Sets up hypotheses and tests against new data.
   d. Studies his data to see if he needs to gather new data before coming to conclusions.
   e. Considers his conclusions tentative, subject to change in the light of new evidence.

6. Communicates effectively in oral reports, panel discussions, and symposiums.

7. Works effectively with others.
   a. Helps create and preserve an atmosphere in which all members of a group feel secure and anxious to participate.
   b. Is able to study ideas objectively, without becoming upset by criticism of his ideas.
   c. During discussions, keeps to the point, helps move the discussion along, and searches for points of agreement.

Attitudes*

1. Scholarly values inherent in social sciences:
   a. Values the scientific method and rational thought as applied to social as well as to natural data.
   b. Respects evidence even when it contradicts prejudices and preconceptions.
   c. Is sceptical of conventional truths and demands that widely-held and popular notions be judged in accordance with standards of empirical validation.
   d. Is sceptical of the finality of knowledge; considers generalizations and theories as tentative, always subject

*Some of these attitudes will be developed by particular teaching procedures. Others should develop as a result of the general kind of information and procedures used (e.g., 2i, 3e).

to change in the light of new evidence.
e. Searches for evidence to disprove hypotheses, not just to prove them.
f. Values objectivity and desires to keep his values from affecting his interpretations of evidence; although recognizing the important role of values in the process of making decisions about problems demanding action.
g. Is committed to the free examination of social attitudes and data. Searches actively for different points of view and interpretations. Values independent thought.
h. Evaluates information and sources of information before accepting evidence and generalizations.
i. Is curious about social data and wishes to read and study further in the social sciences.

2. Attitude growing out of knowledge of social sciences:
a. Is sceptical of theories of single causation in the social sciences and is equally sceptical of panaceas.

3. Public values:
a. Feels a sense of responsibility for keeping informed about current problems.
b. Has a sense of responsibility for taking informed action about problems confronting the nation.
c. Accepts the will of the majority until it can be changed by peaceful means.
d. Supports freedom of thought and expression.
e. Has a reasoned loyalty to the United States and desires to make it an ever-better place in which to live.
f. Believes in equality of opportunity for all.

OBJECTIVES	OUTLINE OF CONTENT # 1	TEACHING PROCEDURES FOR TEACHING OUTLINE
G1. All societies have potential conflict among their members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.	I. All societies have potential conflict among members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.	See below.
G1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; the conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.	A. In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.	1, 5, 18, 22, 51, 52, 58-60, 77-78, 80, 86-88, 106, 139, 150, 151, 155, 183, 199, 200.
	1. Political parties take different points of view on some conflict issues; they struggle for power to win acceptance of their points of view.	106, 199, 200
	2. Factions struggle within political parties and attempt to get the party to commit itself to certain goals and to nominate people of their convictions or of their own group which may desire power.	139, 183.
	3. Interest groups attempt to influence decision-makers and	69, 80, 106, 150, 151, 155.

	the choice of decision-makers in an attempt to promote their interests as against conflicting interests.	
	4. Groups with more power than others frequently attempt to prevent others from gaining added power. (e.g. rural groups in legislature; white groups in South).	18, 22, 51, 52, 58-60, 77-78, 86-88.
G1b. Struggle may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflicts where primarily pragmatic interests of participants are involved.	B. Struggle may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflicts where primarily pragmatic interests of participants are involved.	6-8, 132-134, 136, 141, 179.
	1. The struggle for the Presidency in the U. S. results in just such coalitions. Because the Presidency is such a prize, this struggle polarizes Americans into two major parties.	136, 141, 179.
	2. Both political parties in the U. S. include many factions and points of view. In the coalition to win office, people may belong to a party although their point of view on a particular conflict issue is	132-134

more nearly allied to the point of view of a majority of the opposite party.

G1c. Conflict serves to establish and maintain the identity and boundary lines of societies and groups.	C. Conflict serves to establish and maintain the identity and boundary lines of societies and groups.	67, 106, 168, 184, 185
	1. Political parties arise through conflict; otherwise there would be no way for them to define themselves.	67, 106
	2. If conflict abates, the groups tend to fall apart or weaken, as political parties do between elections.	185
	3. Conflict with another group leads to the mobilization of group members and hence to increased cohesion of the group. Political parties are likely to have greater cohesion during an election than between elections.	168, 184, 185
G1d. Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.	D. Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.	9, 10, 49, 50, 153
	1. Conflict may be limited; the groups may agree to conduct	50

their conflict within certain specified limits.	
a. Most political conflicts in the U. S. do not erupt into violence.	50
b. Most candidates today abide by certain rules of the game or ethical conduct; if they do not, they tend to arouse opposition among voters.	153
2. Consensus on basic values is necessary for groups to agree to limit conflict; there is enough agreement on the value of peaceful settlement of disputes through orderly processes of government and elections so that members of different parties in the U. S. will accept the verdict of elections without violence.	9, 10, 49, 50
a. Democracy is based upon a belief in reason and peaceful settlement of disputes rather than in a resort to force (so long as a peaceful means is an option).	50
b. Elections provide a means of peaceful change; in a dictatorship changes desired by the people may have to come through revolution.	9, 10
E. Political compromise consists of bringing various conflicting political inter-	9, 10, 50, 135, 136, 141, 142,

	ests or positions into a commonly acceptable intermediate position.	153, 179, 183, 215
Gle. Compromise is most likely to occur where there is a relative equality of power and therefore something approaching a deadlock in the decision.	1. Compromise is most likely to occur where there is a relative equality of power and therefore something approaching a deadlock in the decision.	135, 136, 141, 179, 183
	a. Political parties are likely to develop platform compromises and compromises on candidates when the different factions are fairly evenly balanced in conventions.	135, 179
	b. The compromises of American politics reflect the relative equality of the two competitive parties and the relative equality of the countervailing interest groups.	135, 136, 141, 183
	1) Both major parties attempt to appeal to as wide a group of people as possible, including members of minority parties and the opposing major party.	136
	2) Both major parties attempt to appeal to important interest groups of opposing points of view; neither party ignores one major interest group even though this interest group may be in conflict with another to which the party appeals.	136

G1f. Compromise is more easily achieved in those political systems in which there is agreement on questions touching the fundamental social, economic, and political institutions.	2. Compromise is more easily achieved in those political systems in which there is agreement on questions touching the fundamental social, economic, and political institutions.	10, 50, 142, 153
	a. Compromise is easier to achieve because most Americans accept the idea of majority decisions and our basic political institutions of elections.	50
	b. Conflict is cumulative and a society divided along 1X axes will more easily achieve compromise than a society divided along 5X axes; resentments are easily transfered from one issue to another.	50
	c. Many political systems have promoted compromise by withdrawing certain fundamental areas of disagreement (such as the role and place of religion) from the political arena.	153
	d. The willingness of American voters to accept election decisions is probably the result of agreement on basic values; the fact that the two major political parties are not sharply divided ideologically probably promotes this willingness to accept the results of elections in a peaceful manner.	10, 50

G1g. Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.	3. Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.	9, 179
	a. How much one asks in politics depends upon one's estimate of the other's power, which can only be proved by a test of strength or conflict (e. g. in a convention, ir an election).	179
	b. Occasional tests of strength redistribute power and prevent frustration and eventual disruption of society because formal arrangements do not reflect real power. (e. g. If there were no election tests, a minority group which has grown into a majority would have no way but force to get power).	9
G1h. Compromise is easier where there is not an ideological perception of the issues; that is, where the issues are not moralized and seen as related to other issues.	4. Compromise is easier where there is not an ideological perception of the issues, that is, where the issues are not moralized and not seen as related to other issues.	50, 142, 215
	a. It stands to reason that an ideology represents a set of values in which there is belief and ego-involvement and which are therefore difficult to surrender.	215

	b. Individuals tend to moralize their ideologies into right-wrong, good-bad, true-false, black and white dichotomies, which make compromise difficult if not immoral. (e.g. If people feel that federal-state rights relationships constitute a moral issue rather than just a pragmatic matter, it is more difficult to compromise on many issues).	215
Compromise is often achieved in the political system by reliance on ambiguous symbols and words, or by postponing the substantive resolution of disagreement by an empty formula.	5. Compromise is often achieved in the political system by reliance on ambiguous symbols and words or by postponing the substantive resolution of disagreement by an empty formula.	136
	a. American political parties unify divided political conventions by adopting generally-stated political platforms.	136
	b. The early attempts at loyalty pledges at conventions were an attempt to postpone the substantive resolution of disagreement.	136
i. Societies must work out some means of accommodating differences if violence is to be avoided.	F. Societies must work out some means of accommodating differences if violence is to be avoided.	9, 10, 140

G2. The individual participant in the political process approaches the political process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals.	II. The individual participant in the political process approaches the political process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values and goals.	126, 71-73, 123, 212.
	A. People have different attitudes toward the role of government, toward goals, toward their role as citizens, toward political parties.	126, 71-73, 94, 99, 101, 104, 208, 209, 212, 215, 220, 222.
	1. The participant may believe that government itself constitutes a threat to political liberty and that government is best which governs least; he may believe the reverse of this position; or he may hold beliefs somewhere in between these two positions.	215
	2. The participant may believe that the demands of good citizenship demand a certain level of political activity; or he may believe that his political activity is futile and inefficacious.	71-73, 94, 99, 101, 104, 220
	3. The participant may know nothing of the political system or its opportunities and so be forced to take all of his political cues from a political leader or organization; or he may be knowledgeable about the political system.	208-209, 215
	4. The participant acquires values and needs that become demands or interests for him, some of which he may try to achieve within the political system.	71-73, 215

	5. People are sometimes labelled liberals, conservatives, radicals, reactionaries, or people in the center or middle of the road; these labels are an attempt to sum up their political attitudes toward goals, the role of government, and the way of achieving goals.	215
32a. A person's political attitudes, outlooks, values and goals are learned through a process of political socialization.	B. A person's political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals are learned through the process of political socialization.	12b, 125-131, 151, 157, 211-213, 217
	1. The agencies of political socialization include those within the political system as well as those without (e.g. government agencies and political parties as well as families, social groups, mass media, etc.); in fact, totalitarian political systems are marked by governmental dominance of this process.	128, 211-213, 217
	2. The process of political socialization is a continuous process; the individual continually acquires new values and patterns of behavior, and a sharp change in his life may result in resocialization.	12b, 127-129, 131, 151, 157, 212, 217
	a. Individuals acquire basic political attitudes relatively early in life from family, friends, teachers, etc.	125, 127, 129.
	b. The chief political socializers are the primary groups.	125, 127, 217

c. Experience in political activity itself may reshape the individual's cognition of the political process.

d. A sharp change in life, such as a move to the suburbs, a change in class status, retirement and a move to Florida etc. may result in drastic resocialization. 129

1) The more eager an individual is to become a member of a group, the more he will conform to its norms of behavior.

2) The political attitudes of the prestigious members of a community are influential in changing the minds of newcomers to the community.

e. Different patterns of political socialization are often the product of different experiences of socio-economic status groups; they are, therefore, related to class and status differences. 131

f. Important events such as wars and depressions may change an adult's political attitudes and political affiliations. 131

3. The members of any primary group strongly influence the behavior of the group's members by positive sanctions (praise, encouragement, etc.) and negative sanctions (ridicule, dislike, avoidance, disapproval). 127-129 157.

a. The degree to which members of groups tend toward uniformity in attitudes depends upon such factors as: 128, 129
   1) the importance of the issue for the group.
   2) the degree to which a member's attitudes or actions are obvious to the group or their attitudes to him.
   3) the degree of pressure for uniformity within the group, particularly if the group is united by a broad ideology.
   4) the frequency of interaction among the members.

b. When an individual is closely attached to a group and in close contact with it, his values and attitudes which grew out of socialization within the group are highly resistant to change. 128

G2b. One of the major causes of factionalism within a group is the involvement of some of its members in other groups or organizations which have competing goals and values.

C. One of the major causes of factionalism within a group is the involvement of some of its members in other groups and organizations which have competing goals and values. 130, 157

1. Members of an interest group may belong to some other interest group with conflicting goals. 157

		2. Members of a political party may not support the national platform because of their membership in an occupation group or interest group which opposes certain platform planks.	157
		3. If caught in cross-pressures between the norms and attitudes of different groups to which he belongs, an individual usually complies with the norms of the group which he prefers or with which he interacts the most.	130, 157
		4. Those subject to great cross-pressures during election campaigns frequently resolve the conflict by not voting at all; voting among such people is far less frequent than among those not subjected to cross-pressures from family and friends.	130
G2c. Freedom is to a large extent culturally determined; the individual has to be taught what the options are, how one goes about exercising them, why he should exercise them, and a desire to exercise them.	D. Freedom is to a large extent culturally determined; the individual has to be taught what the options are, how one goes about exercising them, why he should exercise them, and a desire to exercise them.		23, 30, 92, 99, 101, 220
		1. Rational choice-making, (the seeking of goals, the assessment of alternatives) is a socially acquired skill.	23, 30
		2. Some women still believe that their place is in the home; they have not acquired	92, 99, 101

	the belief that women, too, should be active citizens.	
	3. People's attitudes toward citizenship duties and their own sense of political efficacy are learned.	23, 99, 101, 220
	E. Party loyalty tends to be more fixed and constant in adult voters than does attachment to a particular candidate or issue; in fact, voters tend to perceive candidates and issues in terms of overriding party attachment.	124, 131, 185, 211, 214
G2d. Political activity, by which the individual seeks his goals and interests through the political system, takes any number of forms, depending on the nature of the system, and varies greatly in incidence.	F. Political activity, by which the individual seeks his goals and interests through the political system, takes any number of forms, depending on the nature of the system, and varies greatly in incidence.	5, 15, 70-73, 80, 95, 96, 98, 101-105, 124, 158, 159, 200
	1. The individual may attempt to achieve his goals by voting, political party activity, membership and activity in an interest group, discussing politics with small groups, making financial contributions to a political campaign, writing officials, etc.	70, 80, 102, 103
	2. The incidence of political activity varies considerably from political system to political system and even within the same system.	15, 16, 95, 96, 98, 101-103, 105, 124

	a. Only a small proportion of American adults engage in any kind of political activity other than voting; many do not even vote.	15, 102, 103, 124
	b. Differing levels of activity are related to factors such as age, education level, time and financial resources, nature of socialization, political role perceptions, class structure, formal legal limits on activity, etc.	16, 95, 96, 98, 101, 103, 105
G2e. Members of any group are attracted to it for varying reasons, some of which have nothing to do with the goals of the organization.	3. Members of political parties and interest groups are attracted to them for varying reasons, some of which have nothing to do with the goals of the organization.	71-73, 104, 158, 159, 200
	a. Members of interest groups may be members because they must join in order to work at their job or profession.	158, 159
	b. There exists in every purposive organization those members who have joined for social reasons (to meet people, to seek approval, for reasons of personal loyalty to a member or a leader, etc.)	158, 159
	c. In political parties these reasons may extend to other economic reasons such as job patronage, employment, etc.	158, 159
	d. Many members join because they really feel strongly about the goals of the group.	158, 159

G3. Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures created for them by communicators; they react to these images rather than to the real world and real people.	III.	Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures created for them by communicators; they react to those images rather than to the real world and real people.	2;11b,e;11c,12a,e,f;136,184,187,188,190-196,198,201,202,204,209,215
	A.	The voter in reality votes not for a man, but for the sum total of information he has received about him; the ability to control that information is the ability to control the voter.	11a;b;c;12a;187-89,201,202,204,209,215
	B.	Political communication depends on the use of sterotypes, symbols, and other communication shortcuts; effective communication depends on the effective manipulation of these symbolic tools.	2;11b,c;12a,e,f;184,187,188,190-196,198,202,203
		1. Political oratory may be viewed in part as the manipulation of positive and negative stereotypes and symbols.	11c,187,189
		2. Attitudes surveys of the American public indicate that an identical question using the word "public official" or "party official" will elicit a vastly different response than the word "politician" Other words, too, are used to elicit specific kinds of attitudinal responses.	187,188
		3. Campaign managers spend much time trying to create the proper image of their candidates.	202,204
G4. Political organizations act in the political sy-	IV.	Political organizations act in the political system to organize and mobilize political power of indivi-	see below

tem to organize and mobilize political power of individuals or aggregates behind candidates for office and policy alternatives.

duals or aggregates behind candidates for office and policy alternatives.

A. The political party is most obviously distinguished from the other political organizations by its completely political character and by its general dominance of the organizational process of contesting elections. — 12d, 106-110, 114, 115, 118, 122, 137-142, 146-149, 167, 179, 201-202, 219

G4a. The number of political parties in the system will depend on the basic nature of the cohesions and conflicts in the society, on the governmental structure, and on the electoral system.

1. The number of political parties in the system will depend on the basic nature of the cohesions and conflicts in the society, on the governmental structure, and on the electoral system. — 137-142

a. The basic nature of the cohesions and conflicts in a society are reflected in the competitive pattern of its politics. — 142

1) There tend to be more political parties where there are violent conflicts -- unless the government has become a dictatorship. — 142

2) A two-party system tends to develop in a society without violent conflicts. — 142

3) It is also true, however, that within a federal system the one-party — 139

sub-system occurs because of small pockets of a unified and dominant local interest.

a) Although the U. S. has a two-party system, some states have only one really competitive party. 139

b) One-party states in the U. S. are declining in numbers because of increasing mobility and economic changes within these states. 139

b. Governmental structures with single executives are more likely to have two-party systems than structures with multiple executives. 141

c. Plural constituencies and proportional representation tend toward multi-party systems. 141

d. The party system tends to reflect and be determined basically by the conflicts and consensuses in the society and only secondarily by the electoral system and structure of elective offices. 142

e. One-party systems tend to develop a competitiveness within the dominant party, but this factional competitiveness lacks the stability and predictability of inter-party competition. (The competition tends to develop behind personalities rather than into stable opposition.) 139-140

G4b. The electoral and ideological functions of a political party are almost always in competition with each other; in order to build majority support, the party in a plural society has to make compromises as to the conflicting attitudes, interests, and ideologies in the society.

2. Political parties differ by structure and by function. 12d, 106-110, 115, 146-149, 167, 179, 201, 202

   a. In structure they range from elite parties to mass membership, club-style parties.

   b. In function they differentially perform the classic functions of nominating candidates and contesting elections, stating and prompting programs and platforms, and organizing the activities of elected decision-makers such as legislators. 12d, 106, 108-110, 146-149, 167, 179, 201-202

      1) The electoral and ideological functions of a political party are almost always in competition with each other; in order to build majority electoral support, the party in a plural society has to make compromises as to the conflicting attitudes, interests, and ideologies in the society. 167, 179

      2) In the U.S. the major parties are dominated by the electoral function, minor parties by the educational function. 143

G4c. Groups have latent (hidden or unexpressed) functions. as well as manifest (expressed) functions.	3) Parties have latent (hidden or unexpressed) functions for the political system as well as their manifest (expressed) functions.	140, 146-149, 201, 202
	a) By nominating and supporting candidates, parties simplify the choices confronting voters.	146
	b) Parties recruit candidates and thus serve the interest of the political system.	146, 147
	c) Political parties, because they facilitate popular participation, represent interests, present alternatives, organize opposition, etc. are essential instruments of democracy as we know it.	140, 148, 201, 202
	d) In this country political parties help to compromise the clash of political interests and ideologies.	146
	e) They help coordinate action of different branches of government.	149
G4d. The structure and functions political parties assume depend on the political culture of the system and on the functional demands of the political system itself.	c. The structure and functions political parties assume depend on the political culture of the system and on the functional demands of the political system itself.	107

1) The relative centralization or decentralization of power within political parties reflects in large part the centralization or decentralization of authority within the political system as a whole. 107

2) The American political party is decentralized. This decentralization results from the need to organize for the largest number of electoral contests, from the existence of the largest number of patronage jobs at the state rather than the national level, because the states (not the federal government) define and regulate parties, and because of the presidential system. 107

d. Decentralization of political parties reduces party responsibility in office, while at the same time making it easier for a person to break into politics than under a centralized system. 115

3. Since the electoral function tends to dominate most democratic parties, any limitations on party nomination (such as the direct primary) tend to diminish the party role in the political system and lead to an atrophy of party organization. 114, 118, 122

B. An interest group is any organization that chooses, even for a brief time, to seek the coercive authority of the political system to support its goals and interests. 69, 80, 106, 150-158

G4e. No interest group pursues its goals entirely through the political system; it is drawn into political activity only in specific instances of goal-seeking.

1. No interest group pursues its goals entirely through the political system; it is drawn into political activity only in specific instances of goal-seeking. 154-156

G4f. The interest group attempts to bring aggregates of influence to bear on decision-makers by attempts to frame the possible choices the decision-makers have, by direct influence, by education, and by attempts to control the selection of the decision-makers.

2. The interest group attempts to bring aggregates of influence to bear on decision-makers by attempts to frame the possible choices the decision-makers have, by direct influence, by education, and by attempts to control the selection of the decision-makers. 69, 80, 106, 150, 151, 154, 155

   a. The most obviously successful method of influence is to control the selection of the decision-makers. 69, 150, 151, 154, 155

   b. Generally, interest groups find it easier to work on decision-makers after they have been chosen; their opportunity to participate in the selection of decision-makers is sharply limited by the power of parties. 150

G4g. The effectiveness of interest groups may depend on the degree of internal cohesion

3. The effectiveness of interest groups may depend on the degree of internal cohesion they can maintain within the organization and on the human and 80, 151, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158

they can maintain within the organization and on the human and material resources they can mobolize.	material resources they can mobilize.		
	a. Resources include numbers of members, level of activity, access to decision-makers, and finances.	151	
	Unless there is internal cohesion, the interest group can bring little influence to bear upon decision-makers.	157,158	
34h. The interest group serves an important role in activating and socializing its members into political activity.	c. The interest group serves an important role in activating and socializing its members into political activity.	151,152,155	
	1) The socializing role may be directly recognized with formal political education classes or by a political education unit (e.g. Cope of the AFL-CIO).	151,155	
	2) Much of the leverage an interest group has on a political party involves its ability to activate its membership and "deliver" it to the candidates of the party.	151,157	

G4i. The larger, the more complex, and the more heterogeneous the society, the greater the number of organizations and associations that exist within it.

4. The larger, the more complex, and the more heterogeneous the society, the greater the number of organizations and associations that exist within it. 157

a. The more differentiated the members of a community are, the more associations they tend to have -- differentiated by occupation, place of residence, race, religion, class, interest, way of life, etc. 157

b. Organizations tend to call forth organizations; if people organize on one side of an issue, their opponents will organize on the other side. 157

G5. Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy; the concept of one man -- one vote insures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

V. Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man -- one vote insures only a minimum opportunity for influence. see below

A. Political power is the ability to influence and control decisions made within the political system. 51, 160

G5a. Members of any organized group delegate responsibilities and rights;

B. Members of any organized group delegate responsibilities and rights; they assign certain role behaviors. This division of labor 4, 113, 115, 160-161

they assign certain role behaviors. This division of labor is likely to create hierarchial authority relationships.		is likely to creat hierarchial authority relationships.	
		1. All political organizations must delegate responsibilites and rights which give certain people added power. The most interested, active, and skilled members are likely to be so delegated.	115, 160-161
		2. These oligarchies within political organizations may attempt, often unsuccessfully, to perpetuate themselves by choosing their successors or renaming themselves.	113
G5b. The basic distribution of power reflects the basic unequal distribution of resources, skills, and motivation in the society.		C. The basic distribution of political power reflects the basic unequal distribution of resources, skills, and motivation in the society.	68, 70, 102, 103, 117, 160
		1. Social status and the control of economic resources create a base for political power; however, socio-economic and political power are not synonymous.	162, 163
		a. Political leadership is usually drawn from high socio-economic status groups, but many mayors, local political bosses, etc. in the U.S. have built power on bases other than those of socio-economic status.	162

	b. The availability of dollars pays for the research, travel, advertising, etc. on which political influence can be built.	162, 163
	c. Upper middle-class and upper class groups in most countries acquire the education which leads to the necessary skills (verbal ability, knowledge of political institutions, etc.) for political power.	162
	2. Although political participation is greater among upper socio-economic classes, motivation may also be strong among some lower socio-economic groups; without motivation, even those of upper socio-economic status have little power.	162, 164
G5c. Political power is affected by access to political decision-makers.	D. Political power is affected by access to political decision-makers.	18, 51-56, 77-79
G5d. Political power may rest in formal governmental positions, but it need not.	E. Political power may rest in formal governmental positions, but it need not. Some close and influential advisors of powerful government officials may not hold office; yet they may be able to get the officials to do what they wish.	161, 205
G6. The leadership of any group has certain functions to perform; the type of leader will differ according to different situations.	VI. The leadership of any group has certain functions to perform; the type of leader will differ according to different situations.	see below

G6a. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and harmony and must also organize its strategies to provide intellectual leadership.

A. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and harmony and must also organize its strategies to provide intellectual leadership. 136, 165-172, 179, 191, 202, 205, 206, 218

1. The leadership of the organization may attempt to maintain cohesion by focusing the attention of the group on external threats; the political leader focuses upon the threat of the other party. 168
2. The leadership must try to work out compromises on candidates and issues in order to hold the party members together. 136, 169, 179
   a. Presidential candidates who do not try to harmonize party differences come in for great criticism from the party and endanger their chances for election as well as the election chances of other candidates of their party. 169
   b. Platform promises are an attempt to harmonize differences among supporters or possible supporters. 136
   c. Parties sometimes nominate candidates to represent different factions or sections of the party. 179

G6b. One of the major strategic decisions which the leadership faces is the deployment and use of the resources of the organization with the maximum efficiency and effect.	3. One of the major strategic decisions which the leadership faces is the deployment and use of the resources of the organization with the maximum efficiency and effect.	171, 172, 191, 202, 203, 205, 206, 218
	a. Any candidate - or his finance advisor or campaign manager - must use available funds wisely, because of the expense of campaigns.	191
	b. Campaign managers face serious questions of campaign strategy -- questions which include the use of manpower and financial resources.	202, 203, 205, 218
	4. The leadership must provide the rationale for party stands on issues and must develop new ideas about how to solve problems facing the political system.	202
G6c. The intellectual and harmonizing functions of leadership are rarely combined in the same person.	B. The intellectual and harmonizing function of leadership are rarely combined in the same person.	170, 173, 202
	1. Although some political candidates are policy originators, they may leave much of the party strategy and intellectual leadership to a group of advisors. This is increasingly true in an era of specialization.	173, 202

2. The political candidate usually calls upon advisors for planning the main strategy of the campaign. 173, 202
3. The candidates' leadership is frequently aimed at harmonizing party factions. 170

66d. Leaders are usually chosen for the qualities members think needed at the moment. Leaders who fit one situation may not fit another.

C. Leaders are usually chosen for the qualities members think needed at the moment. Leaders who fit one situation may not fit another. 4, 160, 165, 166, 169, 170, 179

66e. The style of the leader is determined by the expectations of the membership as well as by personal traits of the leader himself.

D. The style of the leader is determined by the expectations of the membership as well as by personal traits of the leader himself. 202

1. A presidential candidate conducts himself according to norms of behavior for presidential candidates; usually he conducts a much lower-pitched campaign than he did when a candidate for lower office. 202
2. Political candidates do some kinds of things during campaigns because they are expected of candidates, not because they like to or because they can do them well. 202
3. Each candidate, however, also handles his campaign to some degree in terms of his own personal characteristics. 202

G. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizen as well as from citizen to government.	VII. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizen as well as from citizen to government.	see below
	A. The traditional grass roots model of democracy presumes a higher level of interest and information than studies show are present in democratic republics.	26, 30, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 94, 99, 199, 216
	B. Political parties have as one function the job of helping to educate the public about issues and candidates.	2, 201-204
	1. Political candidates differ in their ideas about their responsibility in carrying out this function.	202
	2. With the advent of television, some campaigns have used lengthy television programs to discuss issues (at least to some extent); the trend toward brief spots make education on issues of little consequence.	2, 201, 203, 204
	C. In general, however, elections permit voters to decide in terms of candidates and the issues which these candidates have supported or promise to support in the future. Voters react to ideas from the leaders in the elections, rather than proposing the ideas. (Those who propose the ideas may not be candidates or in government office, but candidates use their ideas and present them to the voters.)	2, 199

G7a. Democracy is dependent upon the efforts of the people and their willingness to study issues, hold offices, do jobs.

D. Nevertheless, democracy is dependent upon the efforts of the people and their willingness to study issues, hold offices, do jobs. — 11a, 23, 26, 30, 33, 34, 37, 44, 46, 47, 99, 112, 144, 145, 147, 208-210, 220

1. Intelligent voting is important if democracy is to be successful; just voting is not enough. Government leaders can help educate the public to help them vote intelligently. — 23, 26, 30, 33, 34, 37, 46, 47

2. Those countries in which the highest proportion of potential voters vote are not necessarily the most democratic countries; however, unless enough voters bother to go to the polls, democracy would be threatened. — 23, 44, 99, 220

   a. Totalitarian countries have a much larger voting percentage than does the U. S.

   b. Studies have shown that although the U. S. voting percentage is not high, a larger proportion of the voters feel that they can affect the affairs of government than do voters in other countries. They are likely to vote if they feel their interests are at stake. This feeling of political efficacy may be more important than just a high voting turnout. — 99, 220

3. Political parties cannot operate democratically unless many people take an active part; not all people need to, but unless there are more than just a few who are active, a very small group can control the alternatives facing voters. — 112, 144, 145
4. Unless well-qualified men are willing to run for office or take government positions, democratic government cannot be successful. — 147
5. It is virtually impossible for voters to follow debate on campaign issues and candidates without a background of information. Citizens must follow the news between elections to do an intelligent job of following the campaign. — 11d, 210

G8. Decision-making in a large complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

VIII. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences. — 40, 68, 69, 76

A. Decision-making is shared by voters, influential members of political parties and interest groups, elected representatives, and other governmental officials. — 38, 64-65, 161, 232

1. Decisions among influential members of non-governmental groups such as interest groups, political parties, and elites may have an important effect upon the political system. — 161

a. If they can affect the choice of nominees for office, they can limit the choice of voters as a whole.
b. If they can persuade someone to run for office, they may expand the choice of voters as a whole.
c. Those who engage actively in political campaigns have more to say about who will be elected than those who only go to the polls and vote.

G8a. The vote decision of an individual can be important in affecting the outcome of an election.

2. The vote of an individual can be important in affecting the outcome of an election; his decision to vote or not to vote and how he will vote is thus important for the political system. 38, 64-65

3. Elected officials make and carry out policies; they appoint other government officials who also make and carry out policies. 16i

G8b. Any decision is, in part, a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.

B. Any decision is, in part, a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions. 95-96, 130, 211, 212, 215

1. There tends to be a high correlation between socio-economic class, ethnic group, racial group, etc. and voting patterns; 95-96

members of these groups have been subjected to different patterns of political socialization.

2. Political campaigns are more effective in getting out the vote than in changing political party affiliation; most changes which take place do so because of some important world event or occur at the time candidates are chosen. 211, 212

3. The independent voter tends to be a non-voter; at least those without party affiliation are less likely to vote than those who consider themselves affiliated with one party or another. 130

36c. Decision-making is affected by other people including members of primary groups.

C. Decision-making in voting and in political campaigns is affected by pressures and influence from other people, including one's family, friends, influential members of the community in which one lives, workers with whom one associates, members of interest groups to which one belongs, and political advisors (for candidates). 212

D. Voters frequently face role-conflict in voting; those subject to the greatest cross-pressures frequently solve the conflict by withdrawing -- i.e. not following the campaign or voting. 130

G8d. The institutions of government constitute the arena or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.	E. The institutions of government constitute the arena or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.	32, 42, 50-56, 79, 87, 88, 97, 111-114, 118, 120, 122, 153, 174, 175, 178
	1. They set the boundaries and dimensions of the political playing field and fix the rules of the game played in it. (e.g. They set the norms for behavior during the campaigns. They set the rules for amendments to the Constitution.)	50, 153, 175, 178
	2. They set the procedures of decision-making. (e.g. procedures voters must follow at the time of the election or that parties must follow in nominating candidates.)	111-114, 118, 122, 178
	3. They limit access to decision-makers. (e.g. Government officials cannot be turned out of office by voters in most states except at times of set elections. Urban voters have less access or influence with legislatures that are selected from districts which favor rural areas. Negroes have less access or influence with officials where state regulations keep them from voting.	42, 51-56, 79, 87, 88, 97
	4. They affect what decisions different groups can make (e.g. Voters can vote only for certain offices, not for all government officials. Voters cannot cross party lines in closed primaries.	111-114, 118, 120, 174

G8e. Attempts to abstract political decision-making from the pressures of the political system (from politics) have not succeeded.	F. Attempts to abstract political decision-making from the pressures of the political system (from politics) have not succeeded.	119
	1. Any decision-maker who has choices has the capacity to make decisions which will affect some people; these people have a political interest in trying to achieve one choice rather than another.	119
	2. Political parties take an increasingly large role in the contesting of non-partisan elections to local offices and state legislatures. (e.g. They support candidates not running under party labels.)	119
G3. Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues for responses they suggest. However, no country lives up to its ideology completely.	IX. Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues for responses they suggest: that is, for the ideologue, his ideology is an articulate guide, manual, and cue book to the political system. However, no country lives up to its ideology completely.	see below
	A. An ideology is an organized system of doctrines, symbols, beliefs, and attitudes about the political world.	220
	B. Ideology will help the individual make difficult political judgements -- separate the good guys from the bad guys or the good proposals from the bad.	14, 215

C. People with different ideologies may perceive the same scene, and their ideologies will give it sharply differing meanings and significance or maybe even different perceptions of the facts.	215
D. Ideology is associated with those in the political system with the greatest political awareness, involvement, and information.	134
E. No country lives up to its ideology completely. (Practice in the U.S. does not always live up to the democratic ideology.)	14, 15, 17-22, 35-41, 46-47, 51-56, 58-61, 76-78, 80, 81, 86-88, 95, 175
1. Many citizens do not participate actively in the governmental process.	15, 35-40, 95, etc.
2. A number of people are denied the right to vote.	17-22, 76-78, 80, 81, 86
3. Voters do not have equal weight in choosing legislators and congressmen because of the way in which district lines are drawn.	51-56, 60-61, 87-88
4. A man can be elected President with fewer popular votes than his opponent.	175
5. Fraud has sometimes resulted in stolen elections.	46-47
6. A man can be elected by a majority vote, even though different combinations of voters make up majorities which oppose each one of his policy positions.	41

G10. Freedom's relationship to democracy is a close and obvious one; the organization of majorities, the competition in goals, and the ability to oppose which democracy presupposes all depend on a high degree of personal freedom.	X.	Freedom's relationship to democracy is a close and obvious one; the organization of majorities, the competition in goals, and the ability to oppose which democracy presupposes all depend on a high degree of personal freedom.	see below
	A.	Freedom of speech and press are essential to the democratic process.	44, 48
		1. Without such freedom, no opposition group within a one-party system or no opposition party could develop. Such opposition is essential to voter choice.	44, 48
		2. Without such freedom, the voters could not find out what was happening in government.	48
	B.	Legal rights of those accused of crimes are essential to the democratic process.	48
		1. Without such rights, restrictions on freedom of speech or press might continue without recourse.	48
		2. Without such rights, a political enemy might be arrested and held without trial, thus breaking the back of any attempted opposition.	48
G11. Government action may protect as well as restrict the rights of individuals and groups.	XI.	Government action may protect as well as restrict the rights of individuals and groups.	see below

A. In complex societies, non-governmental aggregates of power and influence may be enemies of freedom in that they deprive the individual of option just as surely as government can. The government may try to promote rights of individuals by restricting the actions of these non-governmental aggregates. — 12c, 43, 45-47, 111, 201, 207, 221-223, 225

   1. Government regulation of election procedures may be aimed at preventing fraudulent voting which would negate the wishes of the majority; they are also aimed at protecting voters against retaliation because of the way in which they voted. — 12c, 43, 45-47, 221-223

   2. The government regulates radio and television stations to prevent one party from being unable to obtain time to present its side of the case and to prevent a station from providing free time to one side but not to another. Such regulation is restrictive in one sense, but is aimed at preserving free elections and so the rights of individuals. — 201

B. The government may curb freedom by making it difficult for certain groups to vote; this has happened in many southern communities. It may also give one man's vote more weight than another man's vote. — 19, 20-22, 44, 51-56, 74-78, 81, 82

			C. The government may curb freedom by limiting speech and press; such limitations strike at the foundations of a democratic society.	48
G12. Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.	XII.	Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.		see below
			A. The U. S. Supreme Court has given new and changing interpretations to the equal protection clause in the last generation.	87
			B. The right to vote has been extended by formal amendment.	74, 80
			C. Some aspects of our electoral system are not even mentioned in the constitution; they have grown up through custom.	57, 67, 174
			1. The constitution does not mention political parties.	67
			2. The constitution does not require a congressman to live in the district from which he is elected or even indicate how district lines should be drawn.	57
			3. The constitution does not require a state to give all of its electoral votes to the candidate who wins the largest popular vote for president.	174
G13. There are no easy solutions to social problems; since most social problems	XIII.	There are no easy solutions to social problems; since most social problems arise from multiple causes, simple solutions are unlikely to do away with all causes. Moreover, the solution to one		30-31, 81, 86, 225, and see below

arise from multiple causes, simple solutions are unlikely to do away with all of the causes. Moreover, the solution to one problem may give rise to other problems.

problem may give rise to other problems.

A. Proposals to change the way in which members of the electoral college are divided would not reduce the danger of electing a man whose opponent has more popular votes; moreover, the present system contributes to the two-party system. (e.g. Under one proposed reform Nixon would have won in 1960 with fewer popular votes.) 176, 177

B. The development of primaries has led to reduced party responsibility in government office; they were designed to end boss rule. 113-114, 118
   1. Open primaries may let people of one party help choose the candidates of the other party. 113, 114, 118
   2. Closed primaries have the disadvantages that people must announce their party affiliation. 113-114, 118

C. Long ballots were aimed at giving people more voice in selecting government officials; however, they make the voter's job more difficult. 26-29

D. Recall elections were designed to make it possible for voters to recall officials whose ac- 42

tions they disliked; however, frequent recalls could lead to a lack of government stability and the development and carrying out of programs.

E. Presidential preferential primaries may not result in the nomination of the man with the most popular support. 180-182
   1. Sometimes conventions have given the nomination to someone with fewer delegates chosen in such primaries than an opponent has. 182
   2. Such primaries give a few states more than their fair share of influence in terms of their population. 181
   3. Not all candidates run in these primaries. 180
   4. Presidential preferential primaries put great strains on the financial resources and strength of presidential candidates; these strains may hurt the successful candidate during the final campaign. 181

F. Laws to require potential voters to vote or to reduce literacy requirements might lead to more uninformed voting. 23, 37, 82

G. Non-partisan elections have not gotten rid of political party activity in favor of certain candidates. 119

H. Attempts to regulate campaign expenditures have been largely unsuccessful. 207

G14. Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.	XIV.	Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.	see below
		A. State regulation of voting requirements, limited only by a few federal constitutional requirements, makes it difficult to provide equal voting rights for all.	75, 77, 78, 81
		B. State regulation of voting requirements permitted state experimentation with women suffrage prior to the amendment which granted them suffrage in the country at large, and has permitted experimentation with lowering the voting age.	80, 84
		C. People who could qualify to vote in one state may not qualify in another.	75, 81
		D. Federalism leads to preferential presidential primaries in which candidates differ.	180
G15. The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.	XV.	The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.	19, 60

A.	Voters can affect elected officials by turning them out of office.	64, etc.
B.	Legislatures can regulate voting districts, voting requirements, and voting procedures to be followed by potential voters.	19, 60, 74, 77-78, 88, 98, 227
C.	Interest groups and political parties can affect the selection of governmental officials.	66, 150, etc.
D.	Legislatures can regulate interest groups and political parties.	67, 118, 207
E.	The Supreme Court can force legislatures to take action on drawing district lines or suffer the consequent election at large.	60, 87, 88

OBJECTIVES

G1 All societies have potential conflict among their members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.

A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.

G3 Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures created for them by communicators; they react to those images rather than to the real world and real people.

S. Sets up hypotheses.

G7 Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizen as well as from citizen to government.

TEACHING OUTLINE (NO. 2)

I. Elections provide a means of peaceful change but do not guarantee control of the government by a majority of the people.

A. All societies have potential conflict among members and must work out means of accommodating differences.

1. In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict. To do so, they must control the selection of or influence decision-makers in government positions.

TEACHING PROCEDURES	PARTS OF OUTLINE NO. 1 DEVEOPLED BY ACTIVITY	MATERIALS OF INSTRUCTION
1. Prepare a bulletin board on "Elections in a Democracy." It might show pictures of people going into voting booths or voting machines. It could show candidates making speeches or shaking hands with people. It could show scenes from national conventions or political rallies. It could include political cartoons. One part of the board might be devoted to a few of the election issues. Issues might be printed on cardboard and mounted in the middle of board, with pictures illustrating groups taking "yes" position to left of issue and groups taking "no" position to right of issue. (e.g. "Should right to work laws be repealed?" Pictures of union workers on left; pictures of non-union workers or company officials on right.) This section might be used later to help pupils develop idea of kinds of political conflict between groups in this country.	IA	
2. The teacher should call attention to the bulletin board. What do the different pictures represent? Have any of the pupils watched a national convention on TV? Have any of them watched a political program on TV? Have any of them heard political advertising on the radio or TV? What kinds of appeals are made in such advertising? What are the people being asked to do by the candidates and the parties? Do elections give people a chance to vote on issues directly in this state? What do voters vote on? Get pupils to hypothesize about effects of candidates on voters and voters on candidates.	IIIB, VIIB, C	

A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.

G5a Members of any organized group delegate responsibilities and rights. This division of labor is likely to create hierarchial authority relationships.

G1a In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce resources or goals; the conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

S. Sets up hypotheses.

S. Generalizes from data.

G1b Struggle may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflicts where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are involved.

2. At times a person is more interested in one goal or issue than another; that is, he places the outcome of one conflict situation over that of another. He may thus shift his allegiance to candidates or officials or parties on the basis of the goals which he places uppermost at any one time.

3. Perhaps show a film on elections to arouse interest in unit.

4. Use examples from student activites (perhaps clubs or class organization). Why do they need officers? What factors are important in selecting them? (popularity, ideas, good leaders, etc.) Have each pupil make a list. Then make a composite class list and save for future use. Ask: Why do you need elections to select club officers? — VB, VI, C

5. Review kinds of political conflict identified in overview for the year. List some kinds on board and classify as to economic or non-economic. Why do different sides wish to use governmental system to win the conflict? How can they affect governmental decisions? (Review idea of representative government.) Ask but do not discuss thoroughly: Are there any other ways in which your parents could influence governmental policy decisions? (Have pupils set up hypotheses to check later.) — IA, IIF

6. Go back to list of conflicts in procedure #5. Pick out two or three of them which pupils know something about. State as issues which could be answered yes or no. Ask each pupil to write down 1 before the thing he thinks most important, 2 before the one he thinks next most important, 3 before the one he thinks least important. Do members of the class agree as to the relative importance? Now draw a chart on blackboard: — IB

3. New events may bring new kinds of political conflict or change people's minds about old conflicts, issues and officials.

4. Majorities are made up of groups of people and coalitions of different interest groups; these majorities can shift as voters' goals shift. The minority group of one period may gain enough supporters to become the majority group of another period. The majority group of one period may lose support and become a minority group.

	Candidate Jones	Candidate Smith
Issue No. 1	yes	no
Issue No. 2	[illegible]	no
Issue No. 3	no	yes

Assume you agree with both issue 1 and issue 2. Pose question. Suppose you rated issue no. 1 as much more important than either of others. Which candidate would you support? Now suppose some event makes you change your mind and you rate issue No. 3 as far more important than the other two. Which candidate would you support? Do you think all pupils will agree to changing importance of issues? What is likely to happen to groupings supporting different candidates? Could those supporting Jones disagree on other issues? Define "coalition" and discuss how coalitions might form and dissolve behind candidates.

7. Discuss: Do you ever change your mind about issues? (Use examples from school or club issues.) Do you think you might ever change your mind about issues such as those listed in procedure 6? What kinds of things might make you change your mind? Do you ever change your mind about club officers? Why or why not? What kinds of things might lead adults to change their minds about officials? I.B

8. Discuss ways in which majorities might shift. (Use club or school examples on issues and candidates supporting issues. Then use examples related to issues in procedure #6.) Or -- pose issue for class. e.g. Do they want a test on Friday or Monday? Let class vote after giving reasons. Then suggest that if the test is given on the day selected, there will be no IB

Gli Societies must work out some means of accommodating differences if violence is to be avoided.

A ACCEPTS THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY UNTIL IT CAN BE CHANGED BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

5. If governments are not to be overthrown or forced to use violence against opposition, there is a need for some way of permitting new majorities to get control of government office (positions in which policy-decisions are made).

B. Elections provide a means of peaceful change; they make it possible for those who have become the new majority to take control of the government without revolution.

time in class to review, or the test will be longer. Vote again and note change in majority.

9. Ask each pupil to write a paragraph on the following question: What do you think would happen if our government just stopped having elections? Read aloud one or two of the papers to initiate a general class discussion of this question. Also ask: Can you think of anything which Americans ever did when they felt that they had no say in government decisions? (Refer back to what pupils remember about American Revolution.) Give one or two fairly recent examples of cases in which dictators were overthrown by revolutions. (e.g., You might use Castro in Cuba or overthrow of Trujillo in Dominican Republic in 1961.) Point out that there could be revolution even where elections are held. (Again use case of Dominican Republic -- overthrow of Bosch after election in 1963.) Point out also, that government might have enough military power and support and such a good secret police that it can put down or prevent any attempt at revolt. However, the government might have to use violence to remain in power (armed force to put down revolts; arrests and imprisonment or death of opponents, etc.)

ID2b; E3b; F

For Dominican Republic cases, see brief article in Time magazine, May 7, 1965, pp. 30-31

Have the class summarize the importance of elections as a means of peaceful change.

ID2b; E2d; F

S Evaluates sources of information in terms of bias.

S Increases accuracy of observations through content analysis.

G3 Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures created for them by communicators; they react to these images rather than to the real world and real people.

Evaluates sources of information in terms of bias and competency.

Increases accuracy of observations through content analysis.

C. Voters must spend time and effort if they are to vote intelligently in an election.
   1. They must consider the bias and competency of sources of information about candidates and issues.

11.	If this is an election year, do all of the following. (Otherwise do only those activities which are starred.)	III	
	a. Have pupils bring newspapers from home. In class have them look for editorials on the political campaign. What side does the newspaper favor? Have copies of some other newspapers in class. Be sure to include at least one which makes bias obvious. Have a few students examine the editorials in these papers. What side does each favor? Have pupils look at news articles on politics. How much space is given to the side which the newspaper favors? How much space is given to the other side? Where are the articles about the side which the newspaper favors? Where are the articles about the side the newspaper does not favor? How many pictures does the newspaper carry of the presidential or senatorial or congressional candidate it favors? of the opposition candidates? Where are they carried? Examine headlines about different candidates. Is there any difference in the way in which headlines treat candidates of different parties? Discuss implications of findings for voters who are trying to get information about election issues and candidates.		See also exercise in appendix.
	b. Ask pupils what other printed sources they can use to find out about candidates and issues. Bring to class copies of news magazines such as Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News and World Report. Have pupils look for editorials. Can they tell which political party the magazine sup-	III A, B	Enough copies of different news magazines to go around class. Dittoed copies of one or two current news articles which use colored words

S Distinguishes between relevant and irrelevant information. (Recognizes and discounts persuasion devices.)

S Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence. (Rejects post hoc or whole-part arguments; identifies cardstacking.)

A FEELS A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR KEEPING INFORMED ABOUT CURRENT PROBLEMS.

G7a Democracy is dependent upon the efforts of the people and their willingness to study issues, hold office, do jobs.

2. It is almost impossible to follow the debate on campaign issues and candidates without a background of information. Citizens need to follow the news between elections to do an effective job of following the campaign.

	ports? Now have pupils look at news articles on the campaign. Ditto up one of the news articles which includes colored words. Ask pupils if they can tell the point of view of the writer. What tells them this? Discuss the use of colored words in other articles. Have pupils look for more examples in copies of different news magazines. Have them also check the space allotted different candidates. Perhaps bring to class one or two magazines of opinion, read excerpts and have pupils try to identify bias. Have pupils examine some of magazines in own home to try to identify point of view of publisher.		and phrases. Copies several magazines of opinion.
*c.	Give pupils a paper describing different persuasion techniques. Then illustrate these techniques with campaign literature, excerpts from speeches, etc. Play sections of political speeches from past campaigns (at least one from each political party) to illustrate techniques. Have pupils analyze for persuasion devices during the campaign. They should watch for techniques in speeches, campaign literature, billboards, and radio and TV broadcasts.	IIIB	e.g. Tape of Dewey's Seattle speech in 1948. One of Truman's 1948 speeches. Speeches from 1960 or 1964 campaign. "Propaganda Techniques"
d.	Have pupils make a list of references to events or people in articles about campaign -- references which are not explained in the article but which the authors assume readers will know about. How many do pupils know? Pupils might ask parents some of the items on their list. How many do they know? Discuss findings in terms of difficulty of following campaign unless person has been following events between elections. To begin study only during campaign means much extra work -- if voter is willing to put time and effort into such study.	VII D5	

S Distinguishes between relevant and irrelevant information (Identifies and discounts persuasion devices).

S Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence. (Rejects post hoc and whole-part arguments; identifies card-stacking.)

G3 Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures created for them by communicators; they react to these images rather than to the real world or real people.

A EVALUATES SOURCES OF INFORMATION BEFORE ACCEPTING EVIDENCE AND GENERALIZATIONS.

S Is able to gain information through interviews and sampling techniques (Increases accuracy of observations through questionnairre.)

G2 The individual participant in the political process approaches the political

12. Give pupils an overview of the unit. (Hand out study questions, suggested individual and group activities, etc.) Suggest that each pupil list his first, second, and third choice of a project and turn in the paper. (Then make assignments the next day.) While discussing the unit, tell pupils about some long-term projects which they should begin immediately even though they may not report or carry them out until later. If this unit is being studied during an election campaign, you might include the following projects.

a. A committee might start collecting campaign material put out by both political parties or by individual candidates. They should mount these on the space reserved for this party on the bulletin board. Later, they should be prepared to analyze the material for the persuasion techniques used. — III A, B

b. A committee might conduct a poll of adults in the community. One member might be assigned to each section of the neighborhood from which the school draws. The committee should read about polling. They should meet with the — II A, B2 — Committee members might find it useful to read: "Studying the American Voter" pp 2-4, 7-8

process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals.

G2a A person's political attitudes, outlooks, values and goals are learned through a process of political socialization; the process of political socialization is a continuous process.

A IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND DATA. SEARCHES ACTIVELY FOR DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND INTERPRETATIONS.

GU Government action may protect or restrict individual rights.

A IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA AND WISHES TO READ AND STUDY FURTHER IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

S CURIOUS A[illegible]UT SOCIAL DATA AND WISHES TO READ AND STUDY FURTHER IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

A HAS A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR TAKING INFORMED ACTION ABOUT PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE NATION.

teacher to set up questions. Perhaps the poll should be aimed at finding out how the adults plan to vote in the election. It might also be aimed at finding out if the adults have listened to both candidates on radio or television, when they made up their minds to vote, why they decided to vote as they did, etc. (The committee might adapt questions used in surveys by political scientists.) The teacher should prepare a letter which each student would carry with him on his interviews. (It should be approved by the principal first.) The committee might interview the same people at two set intervals before the election and just after the election to find out if they voted as they had planned to.)

c. Committees might be established to run a mock election campaign in the school if the school is a junior high school. One committee might be in charge of registration procedures, another of elections. (They should be prepared to explain the reasons for such procedures to the class at a later date.) Students might organize campaign committees or speakers' bureaus to visit other social studies classes to speak for their party or candidates. XI A1

d. Teachers might suggest that pupils work in the headquarters of the party or candidate of their choice. They should report back to the class on the kind of work they do and the kinds of activities carried on by the headquarters. This report should come during the study of political campaigns. IV A2b

A FEELS A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR KEEPING INFORMED ABOUT CURRENT PROBLEMS.

A EVALUATES INFORMATION AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION BEFORE ACCEPTING EVIDENCE AND GENERALIZATIONS.

S Distinguishes between relevant and irrelevant information (Identifies and discounts persuasion devices.)

S Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.

S Interprets cartoons.

S Identifies and discounts persuasion devices.

S Checks on the bias of sources of information.

S Presents effective oral reports.

e. Students might begin a scrapbook on the political campaign. They could arrange the scrapbook by candidates and issues, persuasion techniques, polls, trends. In addition to including clippings, they should make a brief written comment about the article. (What background does the candidate have? What stand has the candidate taken on an issue? What charges has the candidate made? What persuasion devices has he used? How does this candidate differ from his opponent?) IIIB VII D1

f. A committee might be assigned the job of collecting political cartoons. If pupils collect them from a newspaper, they should try to find editorials in this newspaper on the same subject. Later they should make a bulletin board which shows both the cartoons and accompanying editorials. Do the cartoons represent the editorial policy? The pupils should be prepared to take down some of the cartoons, project them with an opaque projector, and tell the class the persuasion devices used or the meaning of certain symbols. III B

13. Discuss: What makes a good oral report? How should one prepare for an oral report? (The teacher may wish to add some factors which pupils do not mention.) Develop a list of criteria in class. Ditto up this list so that each pupil can have a copy. Also prepare a rating form or scale which can be used to

G Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues for responses they suggest. However, no country lives up to its ideology completely.

S Draws inferences from tables.

G2d Political activity, by which the individual seeks his goals and interests through the political system, varies greatly in incidence.

S Draws inferences from graphs. (Looks for misleading details).

C. Elections do not guarantee control of the government by a majority of the people; a number of difficulties stand in the way of obtaining real popular control.

1. Many potential voters fail to vote.

grade each oral report. Give a copy to each pupil. (Use it after each report to show pupil what he needs to do to improve his reports.)

Developmental Procedures

14.	Review meaning of ideology. How does election system fit into American ideology? What is role of ideology in guiding people's behavior? Do people always live up to their ideology? Remind pupils that they have learned (#9 above) that elections do not guarantee real popular control. In our country, we seldom have revolutions. (Can pupils think of any time when people did revolt after an election?) However, even without revolutions, some problems stand in the way of real majority control. Can pupils think of any factors which might interfere?	IX A, B, E1	
15.	Ask pupils to look at table on votes cast in Presidential elections from 1856 to 1953 and in elections of 1950, 1952, and 1954. Discuss questions in exercises 1 and 2 in "Exercises on American Voter." (Review the need for examining title and column headings before looking at details.)	F2a, IX E1	Robert Lane, Political Life, p. 21, 263.
16.	A student might prepare a wall-sized graph showing changes in percentages of voting over the years. (Before he starts work on graph, discuss in class general rules to follow in making graphs. Show pupils a few kinds of graphs which might be used. Which might be best for this particular purpose? Why?) Have class	II F2a, IX E1	

S Sets up hypotheses and generalizations and tests them against data.

C5 Political power is distributed unevenly even in a democracy.

G9 Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political system, the answer they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues for responses they suggest. However, no country lives up to its ideology completely.

G1a In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; the conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

a. A number of people in the United States are denied the right to vote.

1) A number of devices are used to keep Negroes from voting in the South.

analyze graph. Review need for looking at title and explanations before looking at details. (Perhaps have pupil make another graph showing same data but using stick figures whose size represents percentage of people voting that year. Have pupils compare graphs. Why is it misleading to change the size of symbols in pictographs?)

17. Ask pupils what reasons they can think of to explain the numbers of possible voters who do not vote in elections. List suggestions on board. Ask pupils to check to find out if they are right as they study the next part of the unit.

II F2b, IX E1

18. Do not try to analyze all of the ways in which Negroes are kept from voting in the South. However, suggest a few to make the point.
    a) Give pupils a literacy test from a southern state and ask them to answer questions. Discuss difficulty of test. Would they like to have to pass this test in order to vote?
    b) Have several pupils read and report on devices used to prevent Negroes from registering or to discourage registering.
    c) Quote kinds of retaliation Negroes have faced after registering (economic boycotts, violence, etc.).

IX E2, I A4, VD, XI B, XV B

e.g. Taper, Gomillion Versus Lightfoot, pp. 53-57, 60-63, 66-67 (Section on registration)
Civil Rights Commission Report of 1963.

G11 Government action may protect or restrict rights of individuals and groups.

S Classifies data.

A BELIEVES IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL.

S Uses general almanacs to collect data.

S Uses index to locate information.

2) Literacy requirements keep many people from voting.

19. Review the use of the World Almanac. Where is the index? What key words would pupils use to look up certain kinds of information? Give pupils a series of topics such as requirements for voting by states and votes cast in last election for President. Ask pupils to underline key word to use in looking up information on each topic in an index. Now have a pupil check the World Almanac for voting requirements by states. Ask him to list requirements on chalkboard. Then list number of states which have these requirements. Or ditto up requirements by states. Ask pupils to pick out the states with literacy requirements. Are there any states outside the South with such requirements? At this point it will be necessary to mark off on an outline map of the U.S. the sections of the country by regions as the regional designations will be used during the course (e.g. South, Midwest, Etc.). Keep on bulletin board for reference during unit. (Point out that	IX E2, XI B, XV B	World Almanac Large outline map of U.S.

S Distinguishes between facts, inferences, and value judgments.

A VALUES OBJECTIVITY AND DESIRES TO KEEP HIS VALUES FROM AFFECTING HIS INTERPRETATION OF EVIDENCE: (although recognizes importance of values in the process of making decision about problems demanding action).

3) Residence requirements keep many from voting.

In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; the conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

	such requirements are an example of interrelationships among components of political system.)		
20.	Give pupils a literacy test such as that found in New York to represent a northern literacy test. What groups of people would find it difficult to pass? Discuss: What are the arguments for and against a literacy test? Have pupils discuss arguments they have used. List some of them on board. What is each: a fact, inference, or value judgment? Discuss meaning of these terms. Give exercise in distinguishing between them. Point out that they will be studying values of Americans and evaluating political behavior and our political system against values. But they must keep inferences and values separated in their own minds. When are they making value judgments? When are they dealing with facts and inferences from facts?	IX E2, X 1B	Exercise in appendix.
21.	Ask pupils to note range in residency requirements. (Use list in activity 19.) How many pupils have lived in other states? What kinds of people would be hit by residency requirements for states? Why do states set up such requirements? Are there any residency requirements which would restrict those who move around within states? How frequently have pupils' families moved within this state? Have pupils ask parents if they were ever kept from voting by residency requirements.	IX E2, XI B	
22.	Have a pupil read and report on former Senator Keating's discussion of the reasons for non-voting.	I A4, IX E2, X 1B	Keating, Government by The People, 109-112.

S Draws inferences from tables.

G2 The individual participant in the political process approaches the political process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals.

G7a Democracy is dependent upon the efforts of the people and their willingness to study issues, hold office, do jobs.

S Distinguishes between facts, inferences, and value judgments.

G2c A person's political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals are learned through a process of socialization.

G13 There are no easy solutions to social problems ...; moreover, the solution to one problem may give rise to other problems. A SCEPTICISM OF PANACEAS.

S Helps create an atmosphere in which all members of a group feel secure and anxious to participate in discussions.

S During discussions, keeps to the point, helps move discussion along, looks for points of agreement, although noting questions at issue.

b. Many fail to vote because they are uninterested, feel that their vote will do no good, feel that there is no choice between the two parties or their candidates, or feel that they have no duty to vote.

23.	Have pupils examine tables on reasons why people did not vote. Read aloud quotations on why people did not vote. Tell pupils that they will examine causes of non-voting in more detail later in the unit. But discuss implications of non-voting for democracy at this point. Do all possible voters have to vote in order to have a democracy? Should we have a law requiring people to vote? (Compare percentages of people voting in this country with those in some other countries including both democratic and totalitarian countries. Perhaps a pupil might make a graph to illustrate these differences.) Discuss: Is a high vote percentage enough to make for democracy? Do you want all adults to vote whether they are interested or not? Even if we can have democracy without all adults voting, could we have democracy fail because too many people fail to vote? (Try to get pupils to generalize about relationship of freedom to culture and socialization.) Have pupils look back over ideas expressed in this discussion. Which kinds of statements were value judgments? Which kind were fact-inference statements? Point out that social scientist does not tell us what to value. What can he tell us in connection with values? (Review from overview for year.)	II D1, 4, VII D1, 2 XIII F	Campbell, et al., The American Voter, 103, 104. See "Exercises on American Voter," numbers 8, 9.
24.	At this point in the year, pupils will have carried on a number of discussions. If the class embers need help on improving their discussion techniques, the teacher might do one of the following: a. Show a film on discussion techniques. Discuss:		Film: "How to Conduct a Discussion."

S Is able to study issues during discussions objectively, without becoming upset by criticism of his ideas.

S Sets up hypotheses or generalizations and tests them against data.

S Identifies and examines assumptions to decide whether or not he can accept them.

S Distinguishes between facts, inferences, and value judgments.

GI3 There are no easy solutions to social problems; since most social problems arise from mul-

2. Many elections use such long ballots that voters can rarely find out much about all of the candidates or issues; this is especial-

What things did people do to make the discussion go well? To hurt the discussion? What things can pupils think of in classroom discussions which make discussions useful? Which make pupils want to enter into the discussion? What things do pupils sometimes do in class discussions which make other pupils hesitate to talk? Which make it difficult to get anything out of discussions? Set up criteria for pupil participation in class discussions.

b. Hold a general discussion, using some of the same questions in (a) about factors facilitating and hurting discussion. Set up criteria for behavior.

25. Discuss: A labor union political action committee (CIO-PAC) once put out a pamphlet for political workers urging them to get out the vote. The pamphlet stated: "A big vote is always a good vote. When everybody votes we get a good government -- Federal, State, or Local." Do you agree? Why or why not? Why do you think the labor union group wanted a big vote? (Do not discuss this question thoroughly at this point. Just get pupils to establish hypotheses. Tell them they can test their hypotheses later.) Have pupils pick out words in statement which indicate values. Discuss meaning of word "assumption." What assumption did author of pamphlet base his statement upon? How does voting affect our political system?

VII D1, SV 1

26. Show pupils a sample primary long ballot. Define primary. Use a recent primary ballot if this is an election year. (In this case, read off names of candidates

VII A, D1
XIII C

Sample primary long ballot.

tiple causes, simple solutions are unlikely to do away with all of the causes. Moreover, the solution to one problem may give rise to other problems.

A SCEPTICISM OF PANACEAS.

G7a Democracy is dependent upon the efforts of the people and their willingness to study issues, hold offices, do jobs.

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions are made; they thus affect these decisions and power relationships.

ly true in primary elections which choose candidates.

a. Primary elections have longer ballots than final elections do, since the number of candidates has not been narrowed down; yet primary election campaigns may be shorter than final election campaigns and may be less likely to give the voter much help on understanding issues or candidates.

b. Long ballots may result when state legislature fails to redistrict and legislators or congressmen must be elected at large.

c. Long ballots are usually the result of efforts to give voters more influence over more government officials; a short ballot would give them direct influence over fewer officials whom

from this primary ballot. Ask pupils to place a mark on a piece of paper for each name they so much as recognize. They should write down the names of those they know something about. How many names did pupils recognize? How many could they tell something about? Ask questions to find out how much pupils know about these candidates. Perhaps make copies of the names in a mixed-up order, without designating office for which candidate was running and ask pupils to ask their parents to star those they recognize.) Discuss: Is recognition enough? Make a chart showing the length of the last primary election as against the campaign for the final election. Discuss the implications for problems facing voters.

27. Do the same thing as in procedure #26 with a sample ballot for the final election. Also show or describe a "bedsheet ballot." Use an example from the current campaign if possible. Otherwise, describe the Illinois ballot of 1964 when all members of the state legislature were elected at large. Then have a pupil report on the reasons for the long ballot in this election as well as the problems the voter faced.

XIII C

Sample ballot for final election.
Picture, Time magazine, Nov. 13, 1964. p. 43.
McDowell, "Illinois: Chaos at the Polls," Reporter, Mch. 26, 1964, 30-32.

28. Discuss the reasons for the long ballot other than as a result of failure to redistrict (as in Illinois in 1964). Read off some of offices up for election. Do pupils know what each official does? Why do they think this official is elected rather than ap-

XIII C

G3 There are no easy solutions to social problems; since most social problems arise from multiple causes, simple solutions are unlikely to do away with all causes of the problem. Moreover, the solution to one problem may give rise to others.

3 Considers possible hypotheses and deduces possible consequents to guide collection of data.

they would have to hold responsible for appointments to the other offices.

A FEELS A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR KEEPING INFORMED ABOUT CURRENT PROBLEMS.

G7a Democracy is dependent upon the efforts of the people and their willingness to study issues, hold offices, do jobs.

G13 There are no easy solutions to social problems; since most social problems arise from multiple causes, simple solutions are unlikely to do away with all causes of the problem. Moreover, the solution to one problem may give

3. Many voters vote without making any real effort to find out about candidates or issues; a large turnout is no guarantee that voters will have given much thought or study to how they will vote.

pointed? Discuss pros and cons of long ballots in terms of voter control over government officials. How does the governmental structure (use of long ballot or short ballot) affect voter influence over decisions in government? Ask pupils to imagine that they are political scientists and want to test validity of some of arguments used in this discussion. What kinds of data might they try to collect? How would they be able to collect such data? If possible have pupils set up hypotheses and deduce possible consequences which could be tested by collection of empirical data.

29. A pupil might draw a cartoon showing the problems which a voter faces when there is a very long ballot. — XIII C

30. Tell pupils that in some states, particularly when they used ballots rather than voting machines, the government rotated names for each office. That is, they printed up a certain number of ballots with one man's name first, a certain number with the second man's name first, etc. Ask pupils to think of possible reasons for this system. Remind them that it would be expensive. — II D1, VII A, D1 XIII

31. Have pupils do exercise on article dealing with effects of rotating names on voting machines. Discuss. — XIII — Citizens League News, Dec. 10, 1964.

rise to others.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF PANACEAS.

G8 The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions are made; they thus affect these decisions and power relationships.

G7a Democracy is dependent upon the efforts of the people and their willingness to study issues, hold offices, do jobs.

32.	Show pupils differences between office-group ballot and party column ballot. What do pupils think would be purpose of office-group ballot? Which do they think would be most likely to encourage voters to vote a straight party ticket? (define term) Which would encourage them to pay more attention to candidates?	VIII E	Opague projector Office-group ballot Party column ballot (See Dixon and Plischke, American Government, Documents and Materials, p. 65.
33.	Read aloud part of an article on the primary election of Jo McCarthy for Minnesota Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner some years ago. Or have a pupil report on this article.	VII A, D1	Minneapolis Tribune, Sept. 15, 1950.
34.	Have pupils read an account of some politician who has sung during campaigns or used hill billy bands to help win an election. Discuss: What did this candidate seem to think about the voters?	VII A, D1	Jerome Beatty, "How to Win an Election," READER'S DIGEST, Sept. 1944.
35.	Point out (or quote an article about) the disgust with which some voters find favorite TV programs supplanted during a campaign by a political speech. What does this show about such voters?	IX E1	
36.	Suggest that a pupil draw a series of cartoons to show: (a) An American who does not vote but then criticizes Congress or the President or the Governor. (b) An American who votes blindfolded -- i.e. without knowing anything about the men for whom he is voting.	IX E1, VII A	

G8a The vote decision of an individual can be important in affecting the outcome of an election.

4. Some people vote only in the final election; they do not think it important to vote in the primaries which elect candidates. Later they are faced with candidates whom they may not like.

37.	Ask each pupil to set up a list of possible reasons why many voters don't bother to study issues or candidates. Compare lists. Then ask: What do you feel now about requiring adults to vote? Can we think of the U.S. as a democratic nation when so many people just don't bother to study campaign issues? (Point out that these people could study them and vote if some issue arose which really bothers them.) What problem does the uninformed voter create? Do people have to be able to read and write to keep informed at the present time? (relate back to literacy tests.)	VII A, D1 IX E1 XIII F	
38.	Review meaning of primary election. Have a pupil read and report on Scott's brief statement about the importance of voting in primaries. Discuss: "Is it more important to vote in primary elections or in final elections?"	VIII A2	Hugh D. Scott, Jr., How to Go Into Politics, pp. 95-96.
39.	Have a pupil make a graph to compare the total vote in primary and final elections in the local area or state over the last ten years.	VII A IX E1	
40.	A pupil might draw a cartoon to illustrate the man who fails to vote in a primary because he wants to play golf or doesn't think the primary important, etc. The cartoon should show the man complaining about the government. Or the pupil might draw a double cartoon showing a man playing golf rather than voting in the primary and then showing him refusing to vote in the final election because he doesn't like the candidates.	IX E1	

G9 Ideologies are important for the structure which they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous statements, and the cues for responses they suggest. However, no country lives up to its ideology completely.

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions are made; they thus affect these decisions and power relationships.

G13 There are no easy solutions to social problems; since most social problems arise from multiple causes, simple solutions are unlikely to do away with all of the causes of the problem. Moreover, the solution of one problem may give rise to others.

G11 Government action protects as well as restricts rights of individuals.

5. Sometimes a man is elected even though different majority combinations oppose most of his stands on issues; however, he is still the first choice of a majority of the people. The election may not provide government officials much help in determining the will of the people on any particular issue.

6. In our country elections are held at sc in- tervals; except in a few states for local and state officials, voters are not able to recall officials whom they come to dislike.

C. An election will not provde a means of majority control unless there are safeguards surrounding the voting and the campaigning.

1. Without a real secret ballot or means of voting, people are in danger of retaliation if

41.	Review with pupils the Dahl material they studied at the end of the overview for the year. What does this mean for elected officials? Should they follow their own ideas or try to find out how voters want them to vote and then just follow the desires of the voters? Can pupils think of any way of getting around the problem of election without majority support for policy stands?	IX E6	
42.	Use a current opinion poll or a poll of the past which shows that a President or governor no longer has (or had) the confidence of the majority of the people. (e.g. they no longer think that he is doing a good job). Why isn't he removed? Describe the recall system used in some local elections in some states. Do they think we should have a recall system for President or governor? Why or why not? Make sure that pupils understand how this aspect of our government structure affects decision-making and power relationships. Ask each pupil to answer the following question on paper: At what point in a President's four year term of office is he going to be most careful not to go against the desires of what he thinks is majority opinion? Why? Now compare pupil's answers.	VIII E3 XIII D	Albert Beveridge, The Life of John Marshall, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910, Vol. II, 412-413. Reprinted in Swarthout and Bartley eds., Materials on American National Government.
43.	Have pupils read a description of voting in this country prior to the secret ballot. Discuss: How might people have treated those who voted in ways they dislike? Suppose an employer were watching how his	XI A1	

they fail to vote as some may wish.

a. This was true in this country prior to the secret ballot.

G11 Government action may protect as well as restrict rights of individuals.

G10 Freedom's relationship to democracy is a close and obvious one; the organization of majorities, the competition in goals, and the ability to oppose which democracy presupposes all depend on a high degree of personal freedom.

b. This is still true in some countries where voting is not secret.

G11 Government action may protect as well as restrict rights of individuals.

S Classifies data.

2. Election frauds may result in the stealing of an election; such frauds are made easier by apathethic voters.

workers voted? What might he do if he didn't like the way they voted? Ask pupils if they can think of any other reason for secret voting. If they cannot, make up a hypothetical example of a candidate who has a great deal of money and is willing to try to buy his election. How could he be helped if voting were not secret? How does government action to enforce secret voting protect the rights of the American people?

1.	Have a pupil report on voting in the Soviet Union. He should discuss at this point the voting turnouts, control over candidates, and the way in which voters cast their ballots. Discuss: If you were a Soviet voter, why would you hesitate to vote against a government candidate?	VII D2 X A1 XI B	
45.	Have a pupil or a committee prepare a bulletin board entitled: Voting: The Need for a Secret Ballot.	XI A1	
4	Show the film "Some Folks Stayed Home." Discuss the types of election frauds and the way in which apathetic voters made it easier for people to commit election frauds. Ask pupils to think of possible ways of preverting such frauds. Keep the list. Have pupils check during rest of unit to see if any of these devices have been used.	VII D1 IX E5 XI A1	Film: Some Folks Stayed Home. T. F. C.

G11 Government action may protect as well as restrict the rights of individuals.

G10 Freedom's relationship to democracy is a close and obvious one; the organization of majorities, the competition in goals, and the ability to oppose which democracy presupposes all depend on a high degree of personal freedom.

A SUPPORTS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

A HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE UNITED STATES.

3. Unless all parties have a chance to organize, present their viewpoints and name candidates, they have no chance of winning votes and so winning the election.

   a. If the existing government officials should prohibit open campaigning and the naming of opposition candidates, they could retain control of the government even though a majority of the people no longer supported them.
   b. Without the possibilities of opposition, discontented people would have no chance of winning majority support.

47.	Have each pupil read one selection on election frauds. Discuss. Do you think voter apathy was a factor? Why or why not? (Tell pupils how Mayor Hague was finally defeated.)	VII D1 IX E5 XI A1	Dayton D. McKean, The Boss, 139-144. Wm. L. Riordan, Plunkitt of Tammany Hall, 3-5. Jack H. Pollack, "How Crooks Steal Your Vote," as condensed in Reader's Digest, Sept, 1956.
48.	Refer back to report on voting in Soviet Union. How can the government keep voters from supporting opposition candidates? Give pupils other examples of places where opposition candidates have been imprisoned or forced to flee. Discuss: How effective could opposition candidates be if they were allowed to run but not to discuss issues freely in public? How effective could they be if the government could keep newspapers, magazines, radio, and television from presenting the opposition's side? How effective would guarantees of free speech and press be if there were no guarantees for a fair trial?	X A1, 2, B1, 2 XI C	

A ACCEPTS THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY UNTIL IT CAN BE CHANGED BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions. (They set the boundaries and dimensions of the political playing field and fix the rules of the game played in it.)

G1f Compromise is more easily achieved in those political systems in which there is agreement on questions touching the fundamental social, economic, and political institutions.

G1h Compromise is easier where there is not an ideological perception of the issues; that is, where the issues are not moralized and not seen as related to other issues.

S Reads for main idea and supporting detail.

D. An election will not provde for peaceful change unless those who are defeated accept the rules of the game and so accept the results.

1. In some countries elections are accompanied by violence or by subsequent revolutions or coup d' etats.

2. In this country people are not so sharply divided and parties are not so sharply divided that people are unwilling to accept election results; they believe in peaceful change and that they will have another chance to win at the polls.

E. Sometimes state legislatures have drawn district lines so as to give some people more voice in the government than others.

49.	Remind pupils of what happened in Dominican Republic after election following Trujillo's death. Tell pupils other examples of cases in which there was violence during election, especially on election day, or where there were subsequent revolutions to prevent elected officials from running government.	ID2	
50.	Remind pupils of article they read for overview on the way American candidates accept results of elections. Discuss the reactions of American people to "poor loser" in an election. Discuss: Why do you think there are no armed revolts after elections in this country? Discuss acceptance of basic values of peaceful change and majority rule and also of rules of the game. Also point out the fact that despite differences, American people are not so deeply divided as in some countries. What would they do if they thought an election had been won by a party which planned to do away with free elections or freedom of speech? Ask pupils to keep the question about why Americans accept election results in mind as they study political party differences in this country. Also they should notice speeches or telegrams by defeated candidates following the election.	ID1, 2; E2 a, b, d; 4 VIII E1	
51.	Have each pupil read one selection on unequal election districts. He should read first for the main idea and then details. (Demonstrate with one of selections. Or perhaps work out a multiple choice	IA4, V A, D VIII E3 IX E3 XI B	Kenneth B. Keating, Government by the People, 109-112; Malcom E. Jewel, Politics

G9 Ideologies are important for the structure which they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous statements, and the cues for responses they suggest. However, no country lives up to its ideology completely.

G5 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy.

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

G1a In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals.

G11 Government action may protect or restrict rights of individuals and groups.

A BELIEVES IN THE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL.

A HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U. S. AND DESIRES TO MAKE IT AN EVER-BETTER PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE.

1. Members of legislatures and Congress are usually elected from districts; these district boundaries are drawn by state legislatures.

2. Legislatures may have drawn districts with very uneven populations, even though each district has the same representation in the legislature or in Congress; in this country rural voters usually have greater representation than urban and suburban voters.

exercise on it in which pupils are to pick out option which presents main idea. Then have pupils list details which support this idea.) Or have each pupil prepare a graph to illustrate the unequal voting described in his selection. He should write a caption which presents the main idea of the selection. Review meaning of political power. Then discuss ways in which district lines may result in unequal political power for rural and urban voters.

of Reapportionment, 5 ;
J. Anthony Lucas, "Barnyard Government in Maryland," Reporter, April 12, 1962, p. 31;
G. Schubert, Reapportionment.

S Draws inferences from graphs.

S Draws inferences from graphs.

52.	Have several pupils prepare wall-size graphs to illustrate inequality of voting because of way in which district lines are drawn in a number of states. They should include own state. Have class discuss meaning of graphs. Why do they think the districts are so unequal? Why would it be difficult for urban and suburban voters to get state legislatures to give them more nearly equal representation? Suppose we did not elect legislators from districts? Would this make any difference in relative power of urban and rural voters?	IA 4 V D VIII E3 IX E3 XI B	See tables pages 175, 76-78, 80-82, 63, 180-181, 192 of Schubert, Reapportionment.
53.	Show pupils film: "Our Election Day Illusions: The Beat Majority" on unequal representation. (Be sure to define some of more difficult words on chalkboard ahead of time.)	V D VIII E3 IX E3 XI B	Film: "Our Election Day Illusions: The Beat Majority." AFL-CIO
54.	Show pupils some maps (using opaque projector or transparencies on overhead projector) showing district lines in own state. Show lines for state legislature and for Congress. Read aloud constitutional provision on districts in state. Compare with other states with different constitutional provisions.	V D VIII E3 IX E3 XI B	State Legislative Manual Copy of state constitution Schubert, pp. 68-75
55.	Have a pupil prepare a graph comparing total votes by districts in last election in state, (both legislative and Congressional). Ask pupils to identify own districts. Discuss implications of chart, Did last reapportionment act for this state provide for equal representation for all of the state's voters?	V D VIII E3 IX E3 XI B I A 4	

S Skims to locate information.

S Adjusts reading rate to purpose and type of material.

56. Have a pupil prepare a bulletin board or draw a cartoon with the title: "A Rural Vote Is Worth More than the Vote of a City Dweller."	VD, VIII E3, IX E3, XI B	
57. Have pupils look at section on Congress in U. S. Constitution. Ask them to skim to see if they can find any provision stating how Congressional districts should be drawn. Teach pupils to skim before they begin. (Give them class list and ask to find own name. Ask: Did you have to read down through this list to find your own name? Why not? Tell pupils that they can skim in a similar way by keeping in mind certain key words. What word might they keep in mind while looking for somethimg on Congressional districts in a section on Congress? Why not use the word Congress?) Now ask pupils to skim to find the answer to your question. If the class needs extra help on skimming, precede the constitutional exercise by giving pupils three or four practice lists of terms, including "districts." Have pupils practice skimming these lists to find the word "district" just as fast as possible. Then send pupils to Constitutional section on Congress to locate any possible information about districts. When they can't find reference, have them skim amendments. When they are disappointed, point out that Constitution does not mention districts. Isn't it better to skim to find this out than to read carefully? How should their reading rate differ if they were reading to learn details of Congressional powers? Then ask: Since Constitution does not mention districts, how do you suppose representation by districts arose?	XII C2	Classroom set of U. S. Constitution or set of civics or American history textbooks which have copy of Constitution.

S Sets up hypotheses and tests them against data.

Gla In political conflict there is struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

G9 Ideologies are important for the structure which they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous statements, and the cues for responses they suggest. However, no country lives up to its ideology completely.

A BELIEVES IN THE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL.

A HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U. S. AND DESIRES TO MAKE IT AN EVER-BETTER PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE.

Gla In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

3. Legislatures may have drawn district lines so that the opposition party voters are divided or concentrated in such a way as to give them less representation in the state legislature or in Congress than their numbers deserve if representation is to be based upon population.

58.	Ask: What do you think would be other problems of having legislatures draw district lines? Get pupils to think of difficulties but do not come to any conclusions. Ask pupils to keep their ideas in mind as hypotheses as they study during the next few days.	IA 4 IX E3	
59.	Show pupils a drawing of the first gerrymander. (Use opaque projector or a transparency on an overhead projector.) Then project chart showing results of dividing district lines in two different ways. Also have pupils work the exercise on gerrymandering found in the unit appendix.	IA 4 IX E3	See Schubert, Reapportionment, p. 22 for drawing, see also exercise in appendix. Drawing of original gerrymander. Chart -- Burns & Peltason, p. 380.
60.	Project a copy of the map in Taper showing the gerrymander designed to exclude Tuskegee Negroes from a district. Have a pupil read and report on this gerrymander. (Later point out that Supreme Court ruled it unconstitutional.) Discuss: In this case, how have different components of the political system affected each other?	I A4 IX E3 XV B, E	Bernard Taper, Gomillion Versus Lightfoot: The Tuskegee Gerrymander Case, first page unnumbered shows map. See pp. 13-17 for description of gerrymander.

S Applies generalizations and concepts to new data.

S Applies generalizations and concepts to new data.

S Checks hypotheses against data.

S Checks on accuracy of information.

S Draws inferences from tables.

S Applies generalizations and concepts to new data.

S Reads for main idea.

II. Individuals can have an important effect upon elections if they become politically active.

61.	Have pupils examine the old third congressional district of 1930's and 40's and early 50's in Minnesota. Tell pupils it was drawn up by Farmer-Labor dominated legislature in early 1930's. Then show pupils results of elections in this district over a period of years until the district was changed. Discuss: Do you think this district was gerrymandered? How effective was the gerrymander for the Farmer-Labor Party (if you think it was done on purpose)? Pupils will need to look at some of figures on voting in suburbs included in that district as well as the Minneapolis sections in the district.	IX E?	Old editions of State Legislative Manual. Congressional District Data Book.
62.	Give pupils voting figures for old third and new fifth districts within Minneapolis. Also give drawings of the districts. Tell pupils some people charged that Judd was defeated only because his old fifth district was gerrymandered against him. Have pupils study data. Have someone investigate the composition of the two branchesof the state legislature at the time (1959) the district lines were changed. Ask pupils to try to decide if this really was a gerrymander by the DFL Party against Judd.		Congressional District Data Book Old legislative Manual and new manual.
63.	Give pupils an exercise in which they are confronted with mythical state with a mythical distribution of Republican and Democratic voters. Have pupils gerrymander district in favor of their political party. Compare some of student results.		
64.	Have each pupil read one of the selections on the importance of one vote in an election. Discuss.	VIII A2 XV A	Marshall Loeb and William Safire, Plunging

S Adjusts reading rate to purpose and type of material.

G7a Democracy is dependent upon the efforts of people and their willingness to study issues, hold office, do jobs.

A HAS A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR TAKING INFORMED ACTION ABOUT PROBLEMS CONFRONTING NATION.

G15 The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

A. An individual's vote can be important; many elections are won by a very narrow margin.

B. People can make their influence greater by joining with others, instead of working alone.

1. They can join political parties which put up candidates and cooperate to win elections.

S Skims to locate information.

G12 Constitutions change by formal amendment but more importantly by changes in custom and interpretation.

	(Also discuss reading such an article. Is it important to remember the details? Might it ever be important to do so? What is the main idea which should be remembered? How does the reading rate differ for this kind of reading if reading for main idea and for details?)		Into Politics, 49-51; Robert Merriam and Rachel Goetz, Going Into Politics, 194-196; Ronald Stunnett and Charles Backstrom, excerpts from Recount, 1, 2-3, 55, 56, 57-58, 61, 63-64, 65, 66, 67, 81, 83.
65.	Have a committee prepare a bulletin board on: "One Vote Is Important."	VIII A2	
66.	Have a group of students read and explain to the class Schattschneider's example of the value of organization in elections. Can pupils think of any other examples in which people can make their influence greater by joining with others? Define the term "political party." What is the advantage to those who organize a political party?	IV A XV c	Schattschneider, Political Parties (pamphlet), 10-14.
67.	Have pupils skim U. S. Constitution to see if they can find any mention of political parties. What words will be the key words they should keep in mind? When the students find they cannot find any reference to political parties, ask how they think parties developed. Why did they develop? (Relate to conflict and to idea of organization developed earlier.) Who regulates political parties?	I C1; E1 XII C1 XV D	Classroom set of U. S. Constitution

S Generalizes from data.

S Tests generalizations against new data.

G1a In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; the conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

G5 Political power is distributed unevenly through the population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man -- one vote insures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G2d Political activity, by which the individual seeks his goals and interests through the political system takes any number of forms, depending on the nature of the system, and varies greatly in incidence.

2. They can join together in a special group to support a particular candidate in a primary or a final election.

3. They can join interest groups which try to influence the outcome of elections as well as people already in office or those drawing up party platforms.

4. Those who take an active part in the work of a political party or interest group have more weight or influence upon governmental decisions than those who only vote; those who become candidates usually have more influence than other party workers, although not always.

68.	Have a pupil report on the case of the college students who worked to elect one of their members in a regular election.	V C	Case study on college student in election in Richard Frost, ed. Cases in State and Local Government, 79-94.
69.	Define "interest group." Ask pupils to list all of the interest groups they can. Make a list on the board. After each one, list some of the interests this group tries to promote or protect. Also list ways in which it ordinarily tries to promote them without resort to government action. Why do people organize such groups? Ask pupils to find out how many of their parents belong to the groups listed. Do they belong to any other interest groups? Ask pupils to follow the current campaign to find out if any of these groups support any candidate or put out campaign literature or advertisements. If this is not an election year, show class examples of such literature from past elections.	I A3 IV B2a	
70.	Ask pupils to list any kind of political activity that they know of other than voting. Some of pupils may have parents who are active in political parties. Have pupils ask their parents how many of them have attended party caucuses or helped during political campaigns. (Define caucus here.) Discuss findings the next day. Why would those who take part in such activities have more influence over government decisions than those who just vote? Is it undemocratic for some people to have more influence?	II F1 V C	

G2 The individual participant in the political process approaches the political process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals.

G2e Members of any group are attracted to it for varying reasons, some of which have nothing to do with the goals of the organization.

S Listens to structured speech for main ideas, supporting details, and evaluating what he hears.

S Gains information through interviews.

C. People go into politics (become active members of parties or become candidates) for many reasons.

71.	Have each pupil read one of the selections on why people go into politics. Each pupil should make a list of reasons as he reads. Then compare lists and develop a composite class list.	II A 2, 4; F 3	Selection by John Kennedy in Cannon, ed. Politics, U. S. A. Wm. Loeb and Wm Safire, Plunging Into Politics, 3-11; Hubert Humphrey, The Cause is Mankind, 169-170; Joseph C. Harsch, The Role of Political Parties U. S. A., 11.
72.	Discuss class behavior when speaker is present. Discuss parts of organized speech and taking notes on speech. Then invite a local politician to class to discuss his reasons for going into and staying in politics. (You may wish to invite someone who has been elected to office. You may wish to invite an active party worker who has not run for office. Or you may wish to invite both kinds of speakers. Perhaps because the focus of most elections is on state or national positions, it would be useful here to use a local or county official.)	II A 2, 4; F3	
73.	Or point out that some pupils plan to interview people for this unit. Discuss interview techniques. What kinds of questions should be asked? What courtesies must be extended? How should student begin interview? close it? Perhaps have two groups of pupils role play an interview situation. One group should try to show good interview techniques and one should show how not to conduct an interview. Then have pupils interview government officials or politicians on their reasons for going into politics. They should report to class.	II A 2, 4; F3	

S Skims to locate information.

G12 Constitutions change by formal amendment but more importantly by changes in custom and interpretation.

G14 Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.

III. The vote has been extended greatly in this country, and there are continued demands for further changes in voting requirements.

A. The states set voting qualifications, although they are limited in some ways by requirements in the federal constitution.

74.	Remind pupils of the fact that voting requirements are set by states. Have pupils skim through amendments to U.S. Constitution to locate any limitations placed on states in terms of voting. Ask pupils ahead of time what words they should keep in mind while skimming. Have a student list limitations on board.	XII B XV B	Classroom set of up-to-date federal Constitution. Be sure it includes the last amendment outlawing use of poll tax in Federal elections.
75.	Have a committee prepare a bulletin board entitled "Can This American Vote?" The title should be placed at the top center of the board. Underneath should be pictures cut from magazines or newspapers of a number of possible voters. One might show a man of 20, another a man who has lived in a state for just one year (a caption will be needed to show this). A second might show a person who has just moved into a new house in the same city. (Perhaps a moving van beside the man would illustrate this.) A third might show a man with a card showing his graduation from sixth grade, etc. On the left hand side of the bulletin board, there might be a small caption reading: "He can vote in this state." On the right hand side of the board might be a small caption reading "He can't vote in this state." Cut-outs of states might be placed under the captions. Then discuss: How does the federal system lead to the lack of uniformity in voting requirements? How does it make it more difficult to secure change which would safequard rights for certain groups? What are the arguments for letting states determine voting rights?	XII B XIV A, C	

G Ideologies are important for the structure which they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous statements, and the cues for responses they suggest. However, no country lives up to its ideology completely.

A BELIEVES IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL.

G5 Political power is distributed unequally through a population even in a democracy.

G1a In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic. The conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

G14 Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.

S Uses Readers' Guide to locate information.

A HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U. S. AND DESIRES TO MAKE IT AN

B. The early religious and property qualifications were gradually abandoned.

C. A number of measures have been used to keep the Negro from voting; however many of these have been declared unconstitutional or outlawed in other ways.

76.	Read aloud or place on the chalkboard or on a wall chart some of the early religious and property qualifications in this country. Tell pupils when these were abandoned.	IX E2 XI B	
77.	Have a pupil give a report on the use of the poll tax as a property qualification. He should discuss the purpose of the tax, how it worked, its effects, and how it was finally outlawed. Before he starts working on report, discuss ways in which pupils might locate information on this topic. Use a set of booklets to teach pupils how to use Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Or project a page from the Guide and discuss meaning of abbreviations. Have pupils pick out key words which might be used to look up a number of possible reports for this unit. (e.g. Negro voting rights, changing district lines, Republican Party, Decision of Supreme Court on legislative districting, Mayor Hague of Jersey City, etc.)	I A4, VD IX E2, XI B XIV A XV B	Use Readers' Guide to locate information. How to Use Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.... and Other Indexes. Or copy of supplement to Readers' Guide.

EVER-BETTER PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE.

G12 Constitutions change by formal amendment but more importantly by changes in custom and interpretation.

G15 The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

S Reads for main idea (uses headlines and first paragraph in newspaper).

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure

78.	Tell the class about the use of the grandfather clause, the white primary, and intimidation to keep Negroes from voting in the South. Point out that courts have outlawed the grandfather clause and the white primary. Ask: What other devices which you have studied have been used to keep Negroes from voting? Point out that in legislative unit, pupils will study laws which have been passed in recent years to try to guarantee Negro voting rights. Perhaps have a pupil report on the most recent endeavor to pass federal legislation to protect Negro voting rights. Remind pupils of the federal amendment guaranteeing voting rights to Negroes. (Quote passage once more.) Why has it been difficult to enforce this amendment?	I A4 VD IX E2 XI B XIV A XV B	
79.	Have pupils read an article on the growing influence of Negro voters in the South. Ask to read for main idea and for kind of argument which is used to support this idea. When they have finished reading the article, ask pupils what they have identified as the main idea. Where did they find it most clearly	V D VIII E3	e.g. Reese Cleghorn, "Southern Negroes Close to Veto Power Over Candidates," Minneapolis Tribune, November 29, 1964, p. 2B

in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus effect these decisions and power relationships.

G5c Political power is affected by access to political decision-makers.

G9 Ideologies are important for the structure which they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous statements, and the cues for responses they suggest. However, no country lives up to its ideology completely.

G14 Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.

G2d Political activity, by which the individual seeks his goals and interest through the political system, takes any number of forms, depending on the nature of the system, and varies greatly in incidence.

A HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U. S. AND DESIRES TO MAKE IT AN EVER-BETTER PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE.

D. Women were not granted the right to vote until after World War I. Some states granted this right before the federal constitution was amended to grant the right; this early state experimentation with women suffrage may have helped bring about the extension of the right on a broader scale.

	stated? (Have them look at article once more. They should learn that newspaper articles generally give main idea in headline and first one or two paragraphs.) Discuss growing influence of Negro voting in South. Now have pupils read an article about Negro voting in the North. (Or have a pupil report on the topic.) Discuss: What effect will growing voting strength of Negroes have upon attempts to gain equal voting rights for all Negroes?		Andrew M. Scott & Earle Wallace, Politics, U. S. A.: Cases on the American Democratic Process, New York, Macmillan Company, 1961, pp. 212-213.
80.	Have pupils read about struggle to win voting rights for women in this country, and/or show film "Susan B. Anthony." Compare tactics of women with tactics used by Negroes in recent years. Also, discuss way in which federalism permitted experimentation with vote for women before amendment to U. S. Constitution was passed. Review meaning of "basic assumption." Have pupils look at article once more. What assumptions did those who opposed women suffrage make? Do you accept these assumptions? Why or why not? Do they resemble in any way the assumptions used against Negro voting? Discuss: Could women or Negroes have used these tactics in types of political activity in all countries? Why or why not?	I A3 II F1 IV B2, 3 IX E2 XIV B	e.g. V.O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups (1948 ed.), 512-517. Film: "Susan B. Anthony."

S Identifies and examines assumptions to decide whether he can accept them.

G12 Constitutions change by formal amendment ....

G1a In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; the conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

S Identifies and examines assumptions to decide whether he can accept them.

G9 Ideologies are important for the structure which they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous statements, and the cues for responses they suggest.

G13 There are no easy solutions to social problems; most problems are the result of multiple causation and simple solutions fail to get rid of all of the causes. Moreoever, solutions to one problem may give rise to other problems.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF PANACEAS.

A HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE

E. Most states still have residency requirements for voting, although many people argue that they are no longer so necessary for intelligent voting as in the past.

81. Remind pupils of what they have learned about residency requirements. Discuss: Why do you think states set up residency requirements? What assumptions do they have? Point out that these requirements had origins in an earlier period when it was more difficult to find out about candidates because communications were not so good. Discuss: Do you think you would know any less about a candidate for President if you moved into another state? Do you think you would know any less about a candidate for governor or U. S. Senator if you moved into another state? If you moved from one part of your state to another? Tell pupils about recent change in Minnesota which permits adults to vote for President without meeting the 6 months residency requirement in the state. Discuss: Why does Minnesota keep the residency requirement for state and congressional offices? Discuss residency requirement as a solution to one problem. Did it get rid of the problem? What other problems did it create?

IX E2
XI B
XIII
XIV A, C

U. S. AND DESIRES TO MAKE IT AN EVER-BETTER PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE.

A IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND DATA. SEARCHES ACTIVELY FOR DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND INTERPRETATIONS. VALUES INDEPENDENT THOUGHT.

S Identifies and examines assumptions to decide whether he can accept them.

F. A number of states have literacy requirements; debate rages as to whether or not these requirements should be changed.

S Presents effective panels and symposiums.

82. Pupils have already studied literacy requirements. However, they have now noted some problems of non-voting and voting without making much effort to study issues and candidates. Discuss: Should our state set up a literacy requirement for voting? Review meaning of assumption. What assumption do people make who demand literacy requirement? XI B XII F

83. Before any pupils begin work on a panel or a symposium, discuss difference between these two types of presentation. How can pupils divide up work of preparation and presentation in symposium? What is job of each panel member? How should pupils prepare for presentation? What is the job of the chairman in each type of presentation? Review general discussion techniques. Would they apply to either type of small-group presentation? Perhaps suggest to groups that they tape a practice session and listen to their efforts. They should analyze the practice session and try to figure out how to improve their presentation to the class.

S Identifies and examines assumptions to decide whether he can accept them.

G14 Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.

S Gains information through sampling techniques.

S Increases accuracy of information through questionnaires.

S Evaluates sources of information in terms of bias and competency.

S Adjusts reading rate to purpose and type of material.

G9 Ideologies are important for the structure which they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous statements, and the cues for responses they suggest. However, no country lives up to its ideology completely.

A HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U. S. AND DESIRES TO MAKE

G. Some states have experimented with lowering the voting age.

84.	Have a groups of students present a panel discussion on "Should Our State lower the voting age to 18?" Discuss: What other information would pupils like to find out before coming to conclusions? What assumptions are behind arguments of each side? (Or perhaps give exercise in picking out assumptions in arguments on this issue.) Discuss role of federalism in permitting such experimentation.	XIV B	Student Exercise in appendix
85.	Have pupils reread first section of Part I of the paper on "Studying the American Voter." Focus upon ways in which pupils could find out about people's views on lowering voting age. What other kinds of evidence can they think of which might be collected to answer other questions suggested on lowering the voting age? How should reading rate be adjusted to this type of reading material? Why?		"Studying the American Voter" Forms A, B, C.
86.	Summarize changes in voting requirements. Discuss: Does country live up completely to its democratic ideology in terms of voting requirements? Does it come closer now than in past? Are any efforts underway to bring it closer yet? What kinds of efforts? Point out that there have always been value conflicts in trying to determine voting requirements. At times the conflict is between an undemocratic and a democratic value. (Can pupils think of one?) At times it is between a	I A4 IX E2 XIII	

IT AN EVER-BETTER PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE.

A IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND DATA.

G13 There are no easy solutions to social problems; most problems are the result of multiple causation and simple solutions will not remove all of the causes. Moreover the solution to one problem may give rise to other problems.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF PANACEAS.

G1a In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; the conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions are made; they affect these decisions and power relationships.

G15 Our political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the others.

IV. A Supreme Court decision has made it necessary for states to redraw district lines in order to make districts more nearly equal in population.

A. Until the Court agreed to act, urban people had appealed in vain to many legislatures which were dominated by rural interests.

B. The Supreme Court decision has led to many changes in district lines; however, the job of drawing district lines is not an easy one and is still subject to battles between parties and rural and urban representatives.

democratic value and another value which is related to making democratic government more effective. (Can pupils think of one?) Try to get pupils to see that conflict situations may involve conflict between two desirable values. Can pupils think of any easy solution to problems of getting more active, educated body of voters? What problems might easy solutions raise in turn (if any)?

87. Tell pupils briefly about attempts to get legislature to redistrict in some states. Review reasons why this was difficult. Then tell pupils story of Supreme Court decision which led to requirement for more equal districts. Show map which illustrates extent of this decision.

I A4
VIII E3
IX E3
XII A
XV E

Schubert, 92-115, 136-137, map p. 138.

G12 Constitutions change by formal amendment but more importantly by changes in custom and interpretation.

S Draws inferences from graphs.

S Checks on completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence. (Examines sample used in study to see if it is representative of population for which generalizations are being made.)

S Increases his understanding of social studies vocabulary by studying context

V. Despite changes in voting requirements, many people still do not vote. The degree of political activity is related to many factors.

A. Social scientists have used sampling studies to find out what factors are related to voting and other kinds of political activity.

88. Compare map of new districts in Minnesota with map of districts drawn up in 1959. Use a bar graph to compare population in old districts and another to compare population in new districts. Show a double bar graph to compare each district before and after redistricting in 1965. Discuss: Are districts more nearly equal now than before 1965? Are there any districts which are still unequal? Where are they (in rural, urban, or suburban areas)? Which districts show the least change in the last redistricting? Which show the greatest change? Tell pupils something about struggle in 1965 legislature to pass a new reapportionment law, and tell about 1964 federal court decision in Minnesota which forced this move upon the state legislature. Discuss: Has the U. S. Supreme Court decision had any effect upon Minnesota legislative and congressional representation? (If your school is in another state, make a similar study for the state.)

I A4
VIII E3
IX E3
XV B, E

89. Remind pupils that voting requirements are not the only cause of non-voting. Ask: Why would it be important to find out how a social scientist collects his data before examining his data on other factors related to non-voting. Before pupils begin reading rest of part I of "Studying American Voters," point out ways of figuring out meanings of words from context and

"Studying American Voters"
Forms A, B, C

in which words are used.

S Applies concepts and generalizations to new data.

S Generalizes from data.

S Evaluates sources of information in terms of bias and competency.

A EVALUATES INFORMATION AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION BEFORE ACCEPTING EVIDENCE AND GENERALIZATIONS.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF FINALITY OF KNOWLEDGE; CONSIDERS GENERALIZATIONS AND THEORIES TENTATIVE, ALWAYS SUBJECT TO CHANGE IN THE LIGHT OF NEW EVIDENCE.

A VALUES THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD AND RATIONAL THOUGHT AS APPLIED TO SOCIAL AS WELL AS TO NATURAL DATA.

S Applies concepts and generalizations to new data.

S Evaluates sources of information in terms of bias and competency.

sentences which follow difficult terms. (Illustrate from paper with several examples.) Have pupils read rest of Part I on ways in which social scientists have carried out several voting studies. Tell pupils to try to answer all questions in caps before continuing. (Before pupils begin reading, discuss meaning of "control group." Use examples such as in Crest Toothpaste study which pupils will know about from television advertisements. Also use examples from research on drugs.)

90. Discuss questions raised in this part of the paper on how social scientists have studied voting behavior. Were there questions to which pupils could find answers in earlier material in the paper? How could they figure out answers? Give pupils some of terms which were defined in the paper by subsequent sentences or which

S Generalizes from data.

S Increases his understanding of social studies vocabulary by studying context in which words are used.

S Reads for main ideas.

S Summarizes what is read.

S Checks on completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.

A VALUES THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD AND RATIONAL THOUGHT AS APPLIED TO SOCIAL AS WELL AS TO NATURAL DATA.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF THE FINALITY OF KNOWLEDGE; CONSIDERS GENERALIZATIONS AND THEORIES TENTATIVE, ALWAYS SUBJECT TO CHANGE IN THE LIGHT OF NEW EVIDENCE.

pupils should have figured out from context in which used. Ask pupils to define. Then have them go back to paper and note how words were explained in paper.

91. Have pupils read part II of the same paper. Tell them to look for main ideas. Give them an exercise in which they must separate main ideas from details given in this section. Go over exercise, discussing items to help pupils differentiate between main ideas and supporting details. Then have pupils write a paragraph summary of the part. Select a good, average, and poor example to project, without showing names of pupils who wrote them. Ask pupils to decide which is best summary and why.

"Studying the American Voter," Part II, Forms A, B, C
Opaque projector.

92. Discuss the differences between social scientists and natural scientists. Try to emphasize the fact that social scientists are not just arm-chair theorists. They do think up theories but they also test them. Explain the meaning of empiricism. Ask: Do all natural scientists use the same empirical techniques? Why not? Try to get pupils to realize that scientists of all varieties must use those empirical techniques which are best suited to the data with which they deal. However, point out importance of remembering that social scientists are speaking in terms of tendencies or probabilities. Quote several examples from books to illustrate the tentativeness of generalizations. Ask pupils to look for words which illustrate this tentative nature of generalizations as pupils study rest of this unit. Quote others that do not. Are such statements

S Adjusts reading rate to purpose and type of material.

S Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.

a. Rejects assumption of cause-effect relationship in correlations; looks for other factors which might affect both parts of correlation.

b. Examines sample used in study to see if it is representative of population for which generalizations are being made.

A EVALUATES INFORMATION AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION BEFORE ACCEPTING EVIDENCE AND GENERALIZATIONS.

S Sets up hypotheses and tests against data.

really completely certain? Or are they really statements of tendencies with the words to indicate a tendency assumed? Also cite examples of theories in natural sciences which have been proved to have limitations or been challenged seriously in recent years. Point out scientific point of view of holding all theories as tentative, although placing more faith in some than in others. Discuss differences in reading rate for this kind of material and some of readings in unit.

93. Now have pupils read last part of this paper. Ask pupils to be sure that they can define correlation by the time they have finished the section. After they have finished, have pupils define the term. (Give other examples of correlation which do not involve cause-effect relationships.) Discuss questions in caps in the paper. Remind pupils to keep in mind the limitations of sampling procedures and correlations as they study the rest of the unit.

"Studying the American Voter," pp. 12-15.
Huff, How to Lie With Statistics.

94. Remind pupils of tables they read earlier on non-voting. They will now try to find out more about why people vote or fail to vote and why they vote or don't vote. At this point let pupils set up hy-

II A2; D3
F2b, VII A;
VIII B1; IX E1

Lane, Political Life, 48-49.
"Exercises on American Voter" Forms A, B, C

S Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.

S Applies concepts and generalizations to new data.

S Considers his conclusions tenative, subject to change in the light of new evidence.

A SEARCHES FOR EVIDENCE TO DISPROVE HYPOTHESES, NOT JUST TO PROVE THEM.

A RESPECTS EVIDENCE EVEN WHEN IT CONTRADICTS PREJUDICES AND PRECONCEPTIONS.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF CONVENTIONAL TRUTHS AND DEMANDS THAT WIDELY-HELD AND POPULAR NOTIONS BE JUDGED IN ACCORDANCE WITH STANDARDS OF EMPIRICAL VALIDATION.

A VALUES OBJECTIVITY AND DESIRES TO KEEP HIS VALUES FROM AFFECTING HIS INTERPRETATION OF EVIDENCE.

G2d Political activity, by which the individual seeks his goals and interest through the political system, takes any number

B. Many factors are related to voting and non-voting.

potheses about which of the following groups would be most likely to vote: women or men? young or old? City or rural? those with less or more education? farmers, unskilled workers, skilled workers, or professional people? union workers or non-union workers? those with low incomes or those with high incomes? those in the South as compared to those in other regions of the country? (Have each pupil make his own hypotheses, and then make a class list based upon majority opinion in the class.) Now have pupils examine a table on Characteristics of Non-Voters and check their hypotheses. Let them figure out possible reasons for the results. Then ask the class some of the other questions (e.g. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11) in "Exercises on The American Voter." These questions are designed to find out whether or not pupils are generalizing too much from correlations. Have pupils begin a list of generalizations about voting behavior. Discuss: What are the limitations of these generalizations? Can they be used to predict? (Can they be used to predict individual behavior? the behavior of a large proportion of people in a certain group of the American population?)

of forms, depending on the nature of the system, and varies greatly in incidence.

G2 The individual participant in the political process approaches the political process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals.

G3b Any decision is, in part, a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.

G15 The political system includes a number of major components,

95.	Have a committee of pupils poll teachers in the building to find out if they voted in the last election. They should give each teacher a slip of paper on which he or she can circle the appropriate sex and yes or no. The teachers might drop these poll questions into a box located in the office. The committee should then analyze the returns and report to the class. Did a larger percentage of the men teachers vote? If not, how might pupils account for the difference between their results and those of national studies? Did a larger or smaller percentage of the teachers vote than potential voters in general? How can pupils explain the difference?	IIF 2b VIII B1	
96.	Let four or five pupils use tables on relations of state restrictions on voting to past frequency of	VIII E3 XV B	Campbell et al., The American Voter, p. 279

each of which affects the other components.

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which decisions of the political process are made; they affect these decisions and power relationships.

G8b Any decision is, in part, a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.

S Makes and interprets graphs.

G2 The individual participant in the political process approaches the political process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals.

	voting by race in South and North. They should present the information through role-playing a discussion between two political scientists on why Negroes vote less frequently than white people do.		"Exercises on American Voter," exercises 6 and 7.
97.	Have pupils do exercise 4 in "Exercises on the American Voter" to see how political scientists try to use multiple correlations to avoid overgeneralization from incomplete data. The table deals with voting as related to education and income level; the second deals with education and region. Discuss: How have social scientists tried to get around the limitations of correlations?	II F2b VIII B1	Connelly and Field, "Who He Is -- What He Thinks," Public Opinion Quarterly, 8 (1944), 179-180; Campbell et al., The American Voter, 478. "Exercises on The American Voter."
98.	Divide the class into groups, each to make a graph of a different table related to citizen duty and voting or factors related to citizen duty, or relationship of a sense of political efficacy and voting, etc. Review purposes of different kinds of graphs and simple rules for making accurate graphs. Let pupils in each group experiment with using different types of graphs for same data. Then the class should compare the graphs from each group, deciding which type seems most suitable and generalizing from the graph. These generalizations should be added to the class list of generalizations about voting behavior. Pupils should use the appropriate exercises in "Exercises on the American Voter" as well as the graphs in preparing	II A2; D2, 3 VII A, D2b	Campbell et al., The American Voter, 99, 106, 480, ????

S Applies previously-learned generalizations to new data.

S Sets up hypotheses and tests them against data.

S Draws inferences from tables.

A VALUES THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD AND RATIONAL THOUGHT AS APPLIED TO SOCIAL AS WELL AS TO NATURAL DATA.

A RESPECTS EVIDENCE EVEN WHEN IT CONTRADICTS PREJUDICES AND PRECONCEPTIONS.

C. Very few adults engage in any kind of political activity except voting.

to explain their graphs where necessary and in leading class discussions about the meaning of their graphs. Be sure that the class examines each graph to make sure that none violates rules of graph-making such as starting with a zero on the scale or using the same size symbols in pictographs, etc.

99. Ask pupils to imagine that they are campaign managers for political candidates. They have just studied data on voters and non-voters. Each pupil should write a paragraph describing how this data would influence his decisions on how to run the campaign. Compare some of paragraphs and discuss.

100. Have a committee or one pupil prepare a bulletin board display on "The Non-Voters: Who Are They?" He might use some of the graphs made by members of the class. II A2, D2, 8 F 2b

101. Ask pupils to imagine that they are campaign managers and are trying to decide how to carry out their job. They have certain ideas or hypotheses about what proportion of American adults actually join a party organization and what proportion work actively in a campaign. However, they wish to test their hypotheses before they plan the final details of their campaign. Let each pupil set up his hypotheses about these two points. Now have the class test them against the data in table on popular participation in politics. To what degree were their hypotheses borne out? What effect would knowledge of this data have upon a campaign manager? What power do adults who join parties and campaign for II F1, 2a V C Campbell et al. The American Voter, 91. "Exercises on The American Voter"

G2d Political activity, by which the individual seeks his goals and interests through the political system, takes any number of forms, depending on the nature of the system, and varies greatly in incidence.

G5 Political power is distributed unevenly through a population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man -- one vote insures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

S Increases accuracy of observations through use of questionnaires and indexes.

G2 The individual participant in the political process approaches the political process with a complex of political attidues, outlooks, values, and goals.

D. People have various motives for becoming candidates or active party workers.

candidates have other those who merely vote?

102.	Tell pupils that they are going to conduct a poll of their own among their parents on the degree of their political activity. Have them check the questions used in a similar national poll. Using the index used by this national polling group, have pupils work out an index of political activity for each parent and turn in without names. Have a committee tabulate results and make a table comparing results with those of national poll. Discuss results.	II F1,2a V C	Woodward and Roper, "Political Activity of American Citizens," American Political Science Review, Vol. 44, (December, 1950), 873, 874, 876.
103.	Invite an active party worker to come to class to tell pupils about the amount of time he spends during a campaign on political activity. Does he feel he needs more time? Why does he do these jobs? Discuss: Why don't more people take part in such political activity? (It would be possible to have a pupil interview this worker rather than having him speak to the class.)	II A2, F3	

104.	Pupils who are interested might do the exercises on the remaining tables suggested in part II of "Exercises on the American Voter." Or you may wish to draw upon them only if questions are raised by pupils during discussions.	II F2b	Hadley Cantril, ed. Public Opinion, 1935-1946, 703; Campbell et al., The American Voter, 479; Woodward and Roper, "Political Activity of American Citizens." American Political Science Review, Vol. 44, (December, 1950), 32. Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba, The Civic Culture, 160, 148, 151.

G1a In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; the conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

G4 Political organizations act to organize and mobilize the political power of individuals or aggregates behind candidates for office and policy alternatives.

S Sets up hypotheses and checks against data.

S Interprets charts.

G4d The structure and functions political parties take depend on the political culture of the system and on the functional demands of the political system itself.

VI. Political organizations act to organize and mobilize the political power of individuals or aggregates behind candidates for office and policy alternatives.

A. The political party is most obviously distinguished from other political organizations by its completely political character and by its general dominance of the organizational process of contesting elections.

1. Political parties are organized to nominate candidates for office and to carry out campaigns for their election; to a lesser degree the parties in this country try to make sure that certain things are done by government officials between elections.

2. In this country political parties are decentralized. This makes it easier than in some countries for people to break into politics; it also makes it more difficult for a political party to have unity of purpose among its members.

a. Each party has local precinct workers; some kind of ward and/or county organization; some kind of state organization in each state; and a national committee. The lower levels select the delegates to the county, state, and national conventions. State and national committees cannot control the lower levels.

105. Review with pupils the purpose of organization -- whether it be a political party or interest group. Also review the main purposes of political parties in this country. Contrast with interest groups. Ask pupils what they would expect parties to work for between elections? (Win support for next election? Push through policies which party backed during election?) Ask pupils to try to decide during the next few days whether they are right and how easy it would be to do the second of these.	I A1, 3; C1 IV A2b, B2	
106. Ask pupils to think of possible ways of organizing a political party in this country. (Break class into groups to do.) Compare some of suggestions, discussing possible advantages of each. Have pupils read on party organization in this country to find out how it is actually organized and if any of them suggested such an organization. Then have them examine a wall chart outlining the general party structure. On the chart show just the different units of organization. Place a sheet of acetate over the chart. Ask pupils how to draw lines to show the way in which authority flows. Ask: Why do you think we have a decentralized system? (Why do parties organize? Where are most of contested offices found? etc.)	IV A2c	Practical Political Action, pp. 12-17 "Political Party Structure" Wall chart showing organizational units of party. Large sheet of acetate and China marking pencil.

S Reads for details.

b. Decentralization results from the need to organize for the largest number of electoral contests, from the existence of the largest number of patronage jobs at the state rather than the national level, because the states define and regulate parties, and because of the electoral college.

c. The basic work of the party is done at the precinct and ward level; these workers are supposed to win support for the party between elections as well as during election campaigns.

1) Precinct workers and their helpers use many devices to try to win support; the devices vary in terms of the workers, the degree of party organization and the area in which the precinct worker works (including the political culture of the people in the area.)

107. Ask pupils what they would do to win votes if they were precinct or ward chairmen. Then have each pupil read one or more of the reading selections on precinct and ward workers. They should read for details and to answer a series of questions about workers. (Give list). Discuss the way in which workers are selected, and the kind of work done during campaigns, on election day, and between campaigns. (Discussion should draw upon different materials read. Be sure to ask: Do all precinct and ward chairmen do the same kinds of things? Have they the same degree of power? Why not? To what degree do cities differ in the ease of becoming a precinct or ward chairman?)	IV A2b	Keohane, Keohane, and Herrick, Government in Action, 91-93; Practical Political Action, ch. 2; Dayton McKean, The Boss, 132-133; Jacob Arvey, "Ward Politics," in James M. Cannon, ed., Politics U. S. A., 93-101; Scott in Cannon, 13-23; Marshall Loeb and Wm. Safire, Plunging Into Politics, 45-48; Raymond Baldwin, Let's Go Into Politics, 26-27.
108. Invite a precinct worker to speak to the class on how he was selected, how he works during the campaign, what he does on election day, and what he does, if anyting, between elections. Compare with readings. (Or a group of students might interview a precinct captain at party headquarters so that they can see some of the other kinds of party organizational activities.)	IV A2b	

5 Interprets charts.

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which decisions of the political process are made; they affect these decisions and power relationships.

G1 Government action may protect as well as restrict rights of individuals and groups.

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which decisions of the political process are made; they affect these decisions and power relationships.

G7a Democracy is dependent upon the efforts of the people and their willingness to do jobs.

2) Precinct workers are chosen in different ways in different states. They may be selected by ward or county chairmen, they may be selected by party caucuses within the precinct, or they may be elected by the voters in the general primary election.

a) The method of selection of precinct workers affects the ease with which a person can become a precinct worker and the degree of control which the ward chairman can exert over his selection.

109.	Have a pupil read and tell the class about party instructions to precinct workers and canvassers. Or he might prepare his own "Brief Guide for Precinct Workers."	IV A2b	Van Riper, Handbook of Practical Politics, 52-57.
110.	Show class the chart on party organization again. Place a sheet of acetate over it. With different colored China marking pencils, draw in three ways of selecting precinct workers. For example, draw in the precinct captain in black next to the block for precinct. Draw in ward chairman next to block for ward. Draw an arrow from ward chairman to precinct captain in one color. Define party caucus, and print in "caucus" next to block for precinct. Draw and arrow in a different color from precinct caucus to precinct captain. Define primary election. Draw in block to represent voters in general below all other parts of chart. Tell pupils the difference between an open and a closed primary. Suggest that the primary is closed. In this case, give a name of a party to the block of voters (e.g. Republican voters or Democratic voters). Draw arrow from these voters to the precinct captain in a third color. Discuss: Why do you think some states have precinct captains elected at a primary rather than a party caucus.	VIII E2, 4 XI A	Chart of party organization; large sheet of acetate; three different colors of China marking pencils.
111.	Have pupils ask their parents if they have ever attended a party caucus in their precinct. If so, about how many members were present? How frequently have the parents attended such caucuses? Discuss: Would it be easy or difficult for a ward chairman to control the selection of precinct captains if they are selected by precinct caucuses? Why?	VII D3 VIII E2, 4	

G13 There are no easy solutions to social problems; most social problems are the result of multiple causation, and simple solutions will not remove all of the causes. Morecver the solution to one problem may give rise to others.

S Draws inferences from tables.

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; theyaffect these decisions and power relationships.

G4d The structure and functions political parties assume depend on the political culture of the system and on the func-

b) The work of precinct workers is supposed to be coordinated by ward or county leaders; however, there may be little or no coordination, particularly if the ward or county leader has no control over the selection of the precinct captain.

3) Some city and rural areas have active precinct captains all year round; others have little between-elections precinct

112.	Post examples of ballots for open and closed primary. Discuss: What do you think would be the results of having precinct captains elected in closed primaries? in open primaries? Would it be as easy for the ward chairman to control the selection of precinct captains as with the caucus method of selection? Why or why not? What would the open primary method of selection do to the ability of a ward chairman to control the selection or influence the work of the precinct captains once they are selected? Why do you think some states decided to have precinct captains chosen in open rather than in closed primaries? Would any one of these systems of selection make it easier for a person to become a precinct captain if he so desires?	VIII E2, 4 XIII B1, 2	
113.	Have pupils study some of the tables from the Wayne County study of political parties. In Michigan precinct captains are elected in open primaries. Discuss: How well do ward leaders coordinate the work of the precinct captains in Wayne County? To what extent do precinct captains and ward chairmen agree on the role of precinct captains? How thoroughly are the precincts organized? (Are all precincts organized? Do they do all of the typical jobs of precinct captains?) Would it be as easy for a ward chairman to organize and coordinate the work of precinct captains under this system of selection as under a system in which they could name the captains? What effect do government regulations have in this case upon political parties?	IV A3 VIII E2, 4 XIII B	Eldersveld, pp. 103, 105-107, 112, 114, 350-352, 361-362, 377. Quotes p. 115.
114.	Tell pupils how precinct captains are selected in Minneapolis. Then have several pupils present a panel discussion on "How Well Organized Are Minneapolis	IV A 2d V B1	Robert Morlan, "City Politics: Free Style," National Municipal Re-

tional demands of the political system itself.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF CONVENTIONAL TRUTHS AND DEMANDS THAT WIDELY HELD POPULAR NOTIONS BE JUDGED IN ACCORDANCE WITH STANDARDS OF EMPIRICAL VALIDATION.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF THE FINALITY OF KNOWLEDGE; CONSIDERS GENERALIZATIONS AND THEORIES AS TENTATIVE, ALWAYS SUBJECT TO CHANGE IN THE LIGHT OF NEW EVIDENCE.

G5b The basic distribution of political power reflects the basic unequal distribution of resources, skills, and motivation in the society.

work and may even have no precinct workers for some precincts during election campaigns.

Political Parties?" Discuss: How easy would it be to break into politics in Minneapolis?

view, November, 1949, 485-489.
Reprinted in Robert I. Morlan, ed., Captiol Courthouse and City Hall, Readings in American State and Local Government, 283-286.

115. Have several pupils try to find out who precinct captains are for both parties in their precinct. How easy is it to find out? How long have these captains been active in their party? What do these facts show about the kind of party organization?

116. If possible locate a precinct captain who is very young and who became a captain almost as soon as he started going to caucuses. Invite him to speak to class. Discuss ways in which young people can affect parties. Also compare ease with which this person became a captain as compared with captains in Arvey's organization in Illinois. VC

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions are made; they affect these decisions and power relationships.

G13 There are no easy solutions to social problems; most social problems are the result of multiple causation and simple solutions fail to remove all of the causes. Moreover, the solution for one problem may give rise to others.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF THEORIES OF SINGLE CAUSATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND IS EQUALLY SCEPTICAL OF PANACEAS.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF CONVENTIONAL TRUTHS AND DEMANDS THAT WIDELY-HELD AND POPULAR NOTIONS BE JUDGED ACCORDING TO STANDARDS OF EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE.

G13 There is no easy solution to social problems.... Moreover, the solution to one problem may give rise to other problems

d. The combination of primary elections, non-partisan elections, and decentralization combine to give the party less unity and to make it easier for people to break into politics.

1) Formerly, most party candidates were elected at party caucuses or conventions; in most states they are now chosen in primaries which are regulated by state governments. This means that the organized party may not be able to control the selection of its own candidates.

a) Parties may still hold conventions and endorse their own candidates, such endorsement may do much to help these men win the nomination.

b) Open primaries give members of the opposite party a chance to nominate a party's candidates; closed primaries restrict the selection of candidates to those who claim to be supporters of the party.

2) Some states have adopted non-partisan ballots in an attempt to do away with machine domination of politics. Although parties are likely to endorse candidates anyway, the non-partisan ballot weakens party control and responsibility in office (e.g. in legislature).

117. Have several pupils find out and report on how candidates for office are selected in the state. (Are they elected at primaries or party conventions? If at primaries, do party conventions endorse candidates and support them during primary campaign?) Tell pupils about cases in which party members of one party have raided party primary of other party in an open primary. Summarize: What are the advantages and disadvantages of each kind of primary? How do primaries in general affect the ability to prevent people who oppose their platform from running as a member of their party? What does this mean in terms of the ability of a party to carry through its policies if its candidates are elected? (Help pupils see that attempts to solve one kind of problem have given rise to other kinds of problems.) How does this primary illustrate the interrelationships of components in the political system?	IV A3 VIII E2, 4 XIII B1, 2 XV D	
118. Show pupils examples of non-partisan ballots. Then show them examples of party sample ballots distributed during same campaign. Discuss reasons why the parties may endorse candidates running in non-partisan elections. Why did states set up such non-	VIII F1, 2 XIII G	Sample non-partisan ballot. Examples of sample ballots distributed by parties for non-partisan offices.

G8e Attempts to abstract political decision-making from the pressures of the political system (politics) have not succeeded.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF THEORIES OF SINGLE CAUSATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND IS EQUALLY SCEPTICAL OF PANACEAS.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF CONVENTIONAL TRUTHS AND DEMANDS THAT WIDELY HELD AND POPULAR NOTIONS BE JUDGED ACCORDING TO STANDARDS OF EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE.

Gd The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they affect these decisions and power relationships.

S Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence. (Rejects whole-part arguments and insists on further data.)

3) Decentralization means that the national party cannot make sure that party candidates in local, state, or national elections will support the party's platform.

partisan elections? Do pupils think this purpose has been achieved? Has the move to non-partisanship given rise to any other problems?

119.	Point out that the national convention adopts a party platform stating the party's stand on a number of issues. Read aloud a few excerpts from one. Have pupils look at chart on party organization. Discuss: How easy would it be for national party to make sure that all candidates running as members of that party support this platform?	IV A2d VIII E4	Example of a Party Platform adopted at a national election. Chart on Party Organization.
120.	Give pupils an exercise on whole-part logical falacy as related to political party membership and acceptance of issues, etc.		Student Exercise in appendix.

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they affect these decisions and power relationships.

G2 The individual participant in the political process approaches the political process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals.

S Develops hypotheses and generalizations and tests against data.

S Applies concepts and generalizations to new data.

4) It is easier for someone to become a candidate under the American decentralized system than under the British unitary system; it is also easier for a person to become a candidate under the primary than under the convention system.

3. Most people identify with one of the major political parties, even though only a small number actually join or are active in parties.

a. Party identification remains fairly consistent among most adults.

b. Party identification is the result of political socialization; early socialization in the family seems to be most important, although people are also influenced by other groups with which they identify closely.

121.	Discuss: How do primaries affect the ease with which someone can run for office? Describe British system of selecting party candidates. Ask pupils to compare this system with ours. In which system would it be easier to break into politics? Why?	VIII E2 IV A3	
122.	Give pupils some of the questions used in national polls to determine party identification and reasons for party identification. Later have pupils compare own responses to those found in surveys.	II	Campbell et al, The Voter Decides or use some such questions as found in Eldersveld in appendix
123.	Show pupils just the first column in the table on party identification in Campbell. What does this table show about the proportion of American adults who thought of themselves as Democrats or Republicans? as independents? Which party seems to have the most support in terms of how people see their relationship to the parties? Review proportion of adults who are active politically. Do all who consider themselves strong Democrats or Republicans become active politically? (Tell pupils about consistency of party identification.)	II E F2a	Campbell, et al, The Voter Decides, 99.
124.	Have pupils set up hypotheses about why they and others have the party identification that they do. If they were political scientists, how could they check these hypotheses? What kinds of data could they collect? Now have them break down into groups of two pupils each to do the exercises related to parental	II B VIII D1	Campbell et al, The Voter Decides, 43, 201. "Exercises on The American Voter," 27-29.

S Draws inferences from tables.

S Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.

A EVALUATES INFORMATION AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION BEFORE ACCEPTING EVIDENCE AND GENERALIZATIONS.

A VALUES THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD AND RATIONAL THOUGHT AS APPLIED TO SOCIAL AS WELL AS TO NATURAL DATA.

A RESPECTS EVIDENCE EVEN WHEN IT CONTRADICTS PREJUDICES AND PRECONCEPTIONS.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF CONVENTIONAL TRUTHS AND DEMANDS THAT WIDELY HELD AND POPULAR NOTIONS BE JUDGED IN ACCORDANCE WITH STANDARDS OF EMPIRICAL VALIDATION.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF THE FINALITY OF KNOWLEDGE: CONSIDERS GENERALIZATIONS AND THEORIES AS TENTATIVE, ALWAYS SUBJECT TO CHANGE IN THE LIGHT OF NEW EVIDENCE.

and primary group influence. Discuss major points after examining group papers to find out what needs to be emphasized.

A SEARCHES FOR EVIDENCE TO DISPROVE HYPOTHESES, NOT JUST TO PROVE THEM.

A IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA AND WISHES TO READ AND STUDY FURTHER IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

G2a A person's political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals are learned through the process of political socialization.

S Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data.

S Draws inferences from tables.

125. Have pupils use some of the questions used by the Michigan survey team with their own parents. Tney should turn in anonymous papers with their findings, and a committee should compile the results. Discuss: How do these results compare with the national findings?		Campbell et al, The Voter Decides.
126. Ask: Why do you think parents have such a lasting influence upon children's political beliefs? What did you learn in the seventh grade course which might help explain this influence? Would you expect the views of those with whom people discuss politics to influence their own views? Why or why not? Now have pupils study the table on Rutgers' findings concerning high school students. Discuss the questions in the exercise on this table.	II B2, 3	Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization, 101; "Exercises on The American Voter," number 30.

S Sets up hypotheses and tests against data.

S Draws inferences from tables.

S Makes and interprets graphs.

127. Have pupils set up hypothese about what might cause shifts away from the party identification of parents. What kinds of data would they need to test these hypotheses? Now have pupils break into groups of two to do the exercises on the two tables on "Relationship between Education and the Index of Political Change" and "The Relation of Strictness of Parental Control to Political Change." Half of the groups might work on the first table, half on the second. Pupils might make graphs to present the information in the charts. Discuss findings and limitations.	II B1, 2, 3	Hyman, Political Socialiaztion, 116. "Exercises on The American Voter, 34-35.
128. Have several pupils who are interested in political socialization prepare graphs to illustrate the information on the influence of friends and the political complexion of communities upon voting behavior of people. They should use the exercises in "Exercises on The American Voter" in analyzing the data so that they can explain their graphs to the class.	II B2a, d;3a	Berelson, et al., Voting, 97; Hyman, Political Socialization, 114, 113; "Exercises on The American Voter," 31-31
129. Have several other pupils make a similar group of graphs on the effects of cross pressures on voting. They should use the "Exercises on The American Voter" to help them explain these graphs to the class. Be sure to draw inferences about relationship between "independents" and non-voting. Give pupils other data on this relationship as a check.	II C3, 4 VIII B3	Lazarsfeld et al., The People's Choice, 58-59, 62, 63; Campbell, et al., The Voter Decides, 158, 160; "Exercises on The American Voter," 37-41.
130. Have pupils summarize the material on political identification and political socialization by adding to the list of generalizations on voting which they developed earlier. Let them check back, also, to see if they need to modify any of the earlier gen-	II B, 2e, f; E	

S Generalizes from data.

S Rejects whole-part arguments and insists upon further data.

S Applies concepts and generalizations to new data.

Glb Struggle may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflicts where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are involved.

G4b The electoral and ideological functions of a political party are almost always in competition with each other; in order to build majority electoral support the party in a plural society has to make compromises as to the conflicting attitudes, interests, and ideologies in the society.

4. Political parties are compromise groups in this country; they include people of many different views and groups. The party tries to appeal to them by developing compromise planks and vague planks in party platform. However a study has shown that leaders of the two parties do tend to differ considerably upon a number of issues.

eralizations which they developed. If so why do they need to change them? Also ask: Now that you have studied political socialization, how can you explain the fact that people of different social and economic groups tend to support different parties and have different attitudes toward things? Also tell pupils about studies on shifts in political attitudes after depressions or wars. What does such a shift show about political socialization?

131. Read quotations from two leaders of the Democratic Party; choose quotes on same issue by men of opposite view points (e.g. Goldwater and Rockefeller or some other liberal Republican.) Do not identify man's name or party at first; just give men numbers. Ask pupils to write down numbers on a sheet of paper. After each, pupil should indicate whether he thinks the man is a Republican or a Democrat. Compare class results. Tell pupils who these men are and to what party they belong. Discuss: Why can such different people be in the same party? What do the Democrats have in common? What do the Republican's have in common? I B2

S Generalizes from data.

S Rejects whole-part arguments and insists upon further data.

G4b The electoral and ideological functions of a political party are almost always in competition with each other; in order to build a majority electoral support the party in a plural society has to make compromises as to the conflicting attitudes, interests, and ideologies in the society.

S Reads for details.

S Adjusts reading rate to purpose and material.

132.	Give pupils an attitude scale dealing with some of simpler issues of campaign or recent political issues. Have them indicate party identification in right-hand corner but do not have them give their names. Collect papers, redistribute, and tabulate results by party on chalkboard. Do all Republicans in class agree on all issues? Do all Democrats agree?	I F?	
133.	Or bring to class a recent public opinion poll in which attitudes toward issues have been broken down by party membership. Have pupils note the overlap between parties in terms of views on issues. However, also show pupils some of results of study which showed a basic difference among most leaders of the two parties, even though not among rank and file members. Discuss reasons	I B2	Herbert McClosky et al., "Issue Conflict and Consensus Among Party Leaders and Followers," in Peter Woll, ed., American Government, Readings and Cases, 186-213.
134.	Play excerpt from Nixon's remarks on compromise to the platform committee during the 1960 Republican convention. Discuss. Then have each pupil read one selection on compromise. To what extent do the authors agree or disagree with Nixon?	I Ela IV A 2b D	Recording: "Electing a President, 1960." Raymond Baldwin, Let's Go Into Politics, 168; Robert Merriam and Rachel Goetz, Going Into Politics, 206-207.
135.	Have pupils examine and compare party platforms for last presidential election. (Discuss reading rate for such a purpose.) To what groups is each party appealing? Do these groups ever find themselves on different sides of issues? Do the parties differ as to the groups to which they appeal? How	I B1; Elb; 5a	Recent Party Platforms

Gli Compromise is often achieved in the political system by reliance on ambiguous symbols, words etc. or by postponing the substantive resolution of disagreement by an empty formula.

Glb Struggle may bring together otherwise unrelated groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflicts where primarily pragmatic interests of the participants are involved.

5. Our country is primarily a two-party system, although some states are dominated by one party.

   a. Most people in this country belong to or identify with one of the two major parties; these two parties dominate elections in this country.

	specific are the platforms? Discuss use of vague promises as a means of getting agreement among various groups within the party.		
136.	Have pupils list names of all political parties they know about in the U. S. How many did most list? Do they know anything about the others? Do they know anyone who belongs to one of the others?	IV A1	
137.	Remind pupils of their findings on party identification. Go back to tables. What percentage of the people identified with some party other than the Republican or Democratic Party? Have pupils look at election returns for state during last Presidential or congressional election. How many votes were cast for any third party? Look at election returns for country as a whole in terms of popular vote for President during last few elections. What percent of vote was cast for candidates of third parties?	IV A1	Campbell, et al., The Voter Decides, 99. Legislative Manual World Almanac

G4a The number of political parties in the system will depend on the basic nature of the cohesions and conflicts in the society, on the government structure, and on the electoral system.

b. In some parts of the country, one party has dominated elections in the past, although this domination is breaking down somewhat. Where one party is dominant, cliques form within the party to battle for control of the party.

G1i Societies must work out some means of accommodating differences if violence is to be avoided.

c. An opposition party or at least opposing factions within one party are essential to voter choice.

G1b Struggle may bring together otherwise unrelated persons and groups. Coalitions and temporary associations will result from conflicts

d. Third parties make little headway in this country, partly because of the electoral system (electoral college, electoral districts and election of single-man for presi-

138.	Look at election returns for presidential elections during past 32 years. Or look at maps showing election results in past 32 years. Which states have always gone for the same party or for the same party except in one or two elections? Which parts of the country have voted generally in favor of the Democrats? of the Republicans? Have there been any changes in recent years? How can they account for the Democratic stronghold in the Southern States? In what kind of election would the real struggle come where one party dominates a state? Would there be any struggle? (Point out that there could be cliques or factions within such parties. Usually these groups support some one man; thus they do not develop into separate parties.) Can pupils think of any reasons why one-party domination of certain sections might be breaking down?	I A2 IV A1, A1a 3), A1e	
139.	Discuss: What choice would you have if only one candidate were running for class president? Why is an opposition party important for democratic government? What substitutes for an opposition party within one-party states? Do voters get any choice in these states? (Relate discussion back to need for choice if new majorities are to have chance to get office peacefully.) Now have pupils read a brief excerpt from Harsch on the opposition party. Does he agree with them? Why or why not?	I F IV A1e; 2b 8) c)	Joseph C. Harsch, The Role of Political Parties, 14-15.
140.	Try to demonstrate on the chalkboard the way in which the electoral system in this country helps promote a system of two major parties. For example, draw a	I B1, E1b IV A1b IV A1b, c	

where primarily pragmatic interests of participants are involved.

G1e Compromise is most likely to occur where there is a relative equality of power and therefore something approaching a deadlock in the decision.

G4a The number of political parties in the system will depend on the basic nature of the cohesions and conflicts in the society, on the government structure, and on the electoral system.

G4a The number of political parties in the system will depend on the basic nature of the cohesions and conflicts in the society, on the government structure, and

dent or senator or representative); they also make less headway because of the lack of sharp cleavages between groups.

mythical state of four congressional districts on the blackboard. Put in figures to represent the number of supporters for Party A, Party B and Party C. Have them all fairly close together in numbers, with one just slightly under the others. Ask pupils to assume the roles of leaders in Party A and B, the two larger parties. Point out that each district will elect only one congressman. What will students (as party leaders) do to try to win election? Why will many members of third party support one of them rather than candidate of their party? Now compare this electoral system with one in which the same state might elect all four congressmen at large. Would there be the same pressure to offer things to members of third party? Would members of third party be as likely to vote for one of the candidates of a major party?

Point out to pupils that they will learn more later about our system of electing a president. However, describe briefly the system of the electoral college, the need for a majority vote in the electoral college, and the way in which all of a state's electoral votes go to one man. If you were a voter in this mythical state, would you be tempted to vote for a third party candidate whom you like or for one of the other candidates? Why? If there were a plural executive or committee made of three men, do you think third parties would be stronger? Why or why not?

141. Discuss: How sharp are the differences between different groups in this country? (Laboring groups and business groups? Religious groups? etc.) Do they — I E2, 4 IV A1

on the electoral system.

G1f Compromise is more easily achieved in those political systems in which there is agreement on questions touching the political institutions.

G7a Democracy is dependent upon the efforts of people and their willingness to study issues, hold office, do jobs.

A HAS A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR TAKING INFORMED ACTION ABOUT PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE NATION.

6. Political parties can be democratic and effective only if a number of people take an active part in their work.

   a. Many workers are needed between elections and during campaigns to make the political party an effective organization.

   b. Unless many people turn out for caucuses and vote in primaries, candidates can be selected by just a few people.

have more things in common than the number of differences they have? Have pupils reread selection from Dahl in Overview. How do plural memberships affect our two party system? Would the two parties differ more if the differences between groups were sharper? Would we be more likely to have more political parties if the people of the country were divided into a series of very different groups with very different interests? Make up an imaginary example to illustrate. Tell pupils briefly about the multiple parties of some other countries. What factors seem to make for multiple party system there?

142. Tell pupils a little about third parties in this country. In what elections did third parties make any difference? What is the more common role of the third party? Perhaps read from the platforms of the Populist party or other third parties to show that some of planks were later adopted by major parties and put into effect. IV A2 b2

143. Have pupils who have been working at a party campaign headquarters tell class about work they have done, jobs others have to do, and number of people involved in campaign doing certain kinds of jobs. VII D3

144. Summarize. Have each pupil answer the following questions in writing: Why is it important for many people to be active in political parties? to vote in primaries? to attend party caucuses? Read aloud several papers and discuss. VII D3

G4c Groups perform latent (hidden) functions as well as manifest (openly expressed and obvious) functions.

7. Political parties provide services for the country in the process of achieving their own ends.

   a. They help accommodate differences among different groups in the country.

   b. They reduce the number of candidates to manageable proportions for voters; they make some selection among candidates who wish to run for office; and they recruit candidates.

   c. They identify and help educate the public about issues.

   d. They help coordinate action in different branches of government under a system of separation of powers.

145. Discuss: How do you think political parties help the country as they try to achieve their own goals of electing their candidates? Do you think they have a unifying effect or do they tend to create differences among groups in this country? What would happen if we had no system of narrowing down the number of candidates for each office? Could primaries substitute completely for the job political parties do in narrowing down candidates? What role does the party play in trying to get good candidates to run for office? How does a campaign help educate citizens? — IV A 2b 3)

146. Have a pupil read on the role of political parties in selecting and narrowing down candidates to manageable proportions. He should describe this role of the party to the class, as the class discusses the related question in Procedure #145. — IV A 2b 3) VII D4

147. If this is a campaign year, ask pupils what they have learned about issues by following the campaign. What had they known about these issues earlier? Why is a campaign likely to get more people to pay attention to issues than they do at other times? What role do pupils think the parties play between elections in educating the public about issues? If pupils were social scientists, what kind of data could they collect to test any of these guesses they have made? — IV A 2b 3)

148. Discuss: Suppose the Republicans win control of Congress and the Presidency. How could party control of both branches help to make it easier for the government to take action? How could party control of both — IV A 2b 3)

G4 Political organizations act in the political system to organize and mobilize political power of individuals or aggregates behind candidates for office and policy alternatives.

G1a In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; the conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

G4f The interest group attempts to bring aggregates of influence to bear on decision-makers by direct influence, by education, and by attempts to control the selection of the decision-makers.

G4h The interest group serves an important role in the activating and socializing of its members into political activity.

B. An interest group attempts to bring influence to bear upon decision-makers in support of its goals.

1. It may try to affect the selection of decision-makers, regardless of party lines; it may also try to influence decision-makers after they are selected.

houses of Congress make it easier to pass laws? Point out that pupils will learn more about the degree to which parties aid government action across house lines and between Congress and the President. At the moment, point out only the possibilities.

149. Review with students the meaning of interest groups and the groups which they have named so far. Why might such groups be interested in elections? Now show the film "Pressure Groups" and discuss. Why are interest groups sometimes called pressure groups? Do pupils think pressure groups are undemocratic or democratic? Could they be both?

I A3
IV A2a, b
XV C

Film: "Pressure Groups" E. B. F.

150. A pupil might read and report on the role of labor unions in elections. Or show one of the union films urging union members to become politically active. Discuss film as an example of political socialization.

I A 3
II B
IV B 2a1); 3a

Tyler, "The Labor Vote" in Cannon, Politics, U. S. A., Ch. 9; ,
Gaer, First Round.
Films: "People in Politics,"

G4g The effectiveness of interest groups may depend on the degree of internal cohesion they can maintain within the organization and on the human and material resources they can mobilize.

G2a A person's political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals are learned through the process of political socialization.

G1d Continued engagement in conflict tends to bring about the acceptance by both parties of common rules regulating the conduct of conflict.

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions and power relationships.

G4e No interest group pursues its goals entirely through the political system; it is drawn into political activity only in specific instances of goal-seeking.

2. No interest group pursues it goals entirely through the political system; it is drawn into political activity only in specific instances of goal-seeking.

			"Building Union Participation in Politics," "Knock on Every Door.", AFL-CIO
151.	Show any advertisements or leaflets which any interest group has passed out during the current or a recent campaign to try to arouse its members to support a certain candidate or candidates.	IV B3	
152.	A pupil might report on the way certain religious groups distributed propaganda against Kennedy during the 1960 election. Discuss as an example of an attempt to arouse voters but also as an example of how the introduction of religious issue into the campaign aroused the ire of many people. (Many considered it against the norms of American politics.)	I Dlb, E2c IV B3 VIII El	Wicklein, John, "Religion in Politics: 1960 Election," New York Times, vol. 16-17, 1960. Reprinted in Andrew M. Scott and Earle Wallace, eds., Politics, U.S.A., pp. 200-212
153.	Have pupils ask parents if they belong to any interest groups which discussed election issues or candidates in the last election (or current campaign). Which ones? What stand did they take? How does each interest group pursue its goals in non-political ways?	IV Bl, 2a	

a. Trade unions seek many of their interests in the economic action of collective bargaining; occasionally, they seek public policy support for their interests and in recent years they have frequently engaged in political activity during campaigns.

b. The American Medical Association is primarily interested in improving medical standards in this country; however, in recent years it has campaigned against compulsory health insurance and has been active during political campaigns.

G2b One of the major causes of factionalism within any groups in the involvement of some of its members in other groups or organizations with competing goals and values.

S Applies concepts and generalizations to new data.

S Rejects whole-part arguments and insists upon further data.

4. Since members of an interest group usually belong to many primary and secondary groups, an interest group does not vote as a body in any election.

a. The different groups to which a person belongs may have conflicting interests and attitudes.

b. Primary groups have more influence upon a person's attitudes than secondary groups; for most people interest groups do not constitute primary groups.

154. Invite a member of an interest group (or different interest groups) to class to talk to students about the way in which his group tries to achieve its goals in part through the government. How else does it try to achieve its goals? What does it do during election campaigns? — I A3, IV B1, 2a, 3c

155. Have pupils make a list of the more typical ways in which each interest group mentioned so far (including unions and A. M. A.) tries to achieve its goals, — IV B1

156. Ask pupils if they think all members of any interest group such as a labor union or the A. M. A. would actually vote as the interest group desires. Why or why not? Bring out effect of overlapping memberships in different interest groups and small intimate groups. Ask: Will interest groups be as likely to have as much effect upon a person's voting as his family or close friends? Why? Discuss increasing number of interest groups in complex society. Also discuss importance of internal agreement if interest group is to have much political influence. — IV B 3b; 4, II B2, 3, C1, 2, 3

G4i The larger, the more complex, the more heterogenous the society, the greater the number of organizations and associations that exist within it.

G2e Members of any group are attracted to it for varying reasons, some of which have nothing to do with the goals of the organization; they also have vastly differing rates of interest and participation.

C. Members of a political organization are attracted to it for varying reasons, some of which have nothing to do with the goals of the organization; they also have vastly differing rates of interest and participation.

1. Members of interest groups may be members because they must join. If their group supports one candidate or issue over another, they may not give their support.

2. There exists in every purposive organization those members who have joined for social reasons (to meet people, to seek social approval, etc.)

3. Members of groups may join to advance their careers or to help them get jobs or partronage; this is especially true of some who join political parties.

157. Discuss the variety of reasons why someone might join an interest group. (Do all people join unions because they wish to?? Why do lawyers join the American Bar Association? Why do doctors join the A. M. A. ? Why do businessmen join certain kinds of business groups? Bring out professional and social and economic reasons for joining.) Discuss: Will people who join group for different reasons all agree on accepting its ways of attaining its goals or even its specific goals?

II F 3a, b, c, d
IV B 3b

158. Ask: Do you think members of political parties also have reasons for joining and being active which have nothing to do with the party's goals? (Bring out possible employment opportunities, feeling of accomplishment, etc. Also tell pupils about some of social activities of new club-like organizations in urban and suburban areas. Have pupils try to think of all of the reasons why people might join such a political club.)

II F3a, b, c, d

G5 Political power is distributed unequally through a population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man-one vote insures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G5a Members of any organized group delegate responsibilites and rights; they assign certain role behaviors. This division of labor is likely to create hierarchial authority relationships.

G5c Political power is affected by access to political decision-makers.

G5d Political power may rest in formal governmental positions, but it need not.

G5b The basic distribution of political power reflects the basic unequal distribution of resources, skills, and motivation in the society.

D. Leaders of political parties and interest groups have more power and influence upon governmental policies than do other members.

1. All political organizations delegate responsibilities and rights which give certain people added power; the most interested, active and skilled members are likely to be so delegated.

a. The basic distribution of political power reflects the basic unequal distribution of resources, skills, and motivation in society.

1) Social status and the control of economic resources create a base for political power; however, socio-economic and political power are not synonymous.

159. Ask pupils what kinds of people get appointed chairmen of committees? Why? What added powers do presidents of clubs (or class) and committee chairmen have? V B, C

160. What kinds of leaders do political parties have? (Help pupils see that they include those they have studied such as ward chairmen, etc. and candidates for office -- those who may be in government positions and those without government positions.) Why are the decisions they make important? What powers do these people have that other party members do not have? Would you expect the same thing to be true of interest group leaders? What qualities are they likely to have which permit them to become leaders? V B, E VIII A1, 3

161. Review meaning of socio-economic status groups (studied in 7th grade). Discuss: Do you think that those of high socio-economic groups have a better chance than those of lower socio-economic groups of becoming candidates and party chairmen? Why or why not? What kinds of resources and skills would they have which would help them? Were all political leaders they have studied so far from higher socio- V C1, 2

a) Political leadership is usually drawn from high social and economic status groups, but many mayors and local political bosses built power on bases other than those of socio-economic status. Indeed some minority groups have used politics to achieve status.

b) Members of middle-class and upper class groups acquire the education which leads to the necessary skills (verbal ability, knowledge of political institutions, etc.) for political power.

c) Members of these groups have money to pay for the research, travel, advertising, etc. on which political influence of all kinds can be built.

economic groups (e.g. Hague, Arvey, etc.)? What factors make it possible for people of lower socio-economic groups to become leaders even if they lack the material resources or some of the education?

162. Define the term "Fat cat" for pupils. Why do parties like to nominate men with a good deal of money of their own? Ask pupils to keep in mind the problem of money as they study campaigns. V C1b

2) Although political participation and leadership are greater among upper socio-economic classes, motivation may also be strong among lower socio-economic groups; without motivation, even those of upper socio-economic status have little power.

G6d Leaders are usually chosen for the qualities members think needed at the moment. Candidates which fit one situation may not fit another.

b. In general, leaders are chosen for the qualities which the members think needed at the moment. Candidates which fit one situation may not fit another.

G6a The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and harmony and must also organize its strategies to provide intellectual leadership.

163. Discuss: Do you think all party members who are of high socio-economic groups will become leaders (committee chairmen or candidates)? Why or why not? (Bring out factor of motivation.) Why would motivation be strong among some lower socio-economic groups? — V C2

164. Discuss: Do you always chose leaders for the same qualities? Why might you want one kind of leader at one time and another kind at another time? What factors do you think party leaders consider as they decide whom to back as candidates of their party? Do you think that it will make any difference in selecting a candidate for president if the country is at war or on the brink of war? Do you think it would make any difference if the party leaders believe that the key issue in an election may be related to civil rights? to economic issues? — VI A, C

165. Ask pupils to suppose that a party is being torn by conflict between different groups within it. What kind of party chairman might the party wish to choose? Would the party members be more concerned about a person's ability to unify the party or his intellectual ability to suggest new ways of solving problems facing the country? Why? — VI A, C

166. Read aloud (or paraphrase in easier words) examples of lists people have made of the characteristics of a good candidate for president. Discuss the reasons why people have listed such qualifications. — VI A
IV A 2b1)

G6a The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and harmony and must also organize its strategies to provide intellectual leadership.

G6c Conflict serves to establish and maintain the identity and boundary lines of societies and groups.

G6d Leaders are usually chosen for the qualities members think needed at the moment. Candidates who fit one situation may not fit another.

2. The leadership of a party or interest group must try to build morale (cohesion) and determine the best strategies for the group (including the use of its material and human resources).

   a. The leadership may attempt to maintain cohesion by focusing the attention of the group upon external threats -- the threat of the other party or the power of another opposing interest group.

   b. Candidates who do not try to harmonize party differences come in for great criticism from the party; they endanger their chances for re-election as well as the election chances of other candidates in their party.

   c. Leaders must try to see that candidates are suitable to the various factions within the party or that different candidates represent different factions.

167. Read aloud quotations from party leaders attacking the opposing party. Ask pupils: Do you think that these attacks on the opposite party are all for the benefit of voters? Why or why not? (Try to get pupils to discuss the way in which such attacks may help unite the party.) Or read aloud comments by party leaders who are pointing out the danger of loss to the other party if his party does not get behind its candidates. What effect do pupils think such arguments would have? — I C3, VI A1

168. Tell pupils about some of the criticisms made of Presidential or other candidates in recent years because of the failure of these candidates to try to harmonize party differences. (How did the Republican National Committee act in its distribution of party funds during the 1964 election? What criticisms were there of the losing Republican candidate after the election was over? What happened to the Republican national chairman after the election was over? What kind of qualities did the new chairman have that enabled him to be elected?) — VI A2, C

169. Have pupils study the major candidates in the existing election campaign if they are studying this unit during campaign. In a presidential year, have pupils study some of the articles written about the national convention and reasons why certain candidates were chosen. If it is a non-presidential year, have pupils follow articles and speeches to try to figure out why certain candidates were selected. During the campaign they should also bring in clippings to illustrate ways in which candidates or party chairmen try to get party members to work together. — VI A, B3, C

G6b One of the major strategic decisions which the leadership faces is the deployment and use of the resources of the organization with the maximum efficiency and effect.

A IS SCEPTICAL OF THE FINALITY OF KNOWLEDGE; CONSIDERS GENERALIZATIONS AND THEORIES AS TENATIVE, ALWAYS SUBJECT TO CHANGE IN THE LIGHT OF NEW EVIDENCE.

S Generalizes from data.

IS SCEPTICAL OF THE FINALITY OF KNOWLEDGE; CONSIDERS GENERALIZATIONS AND THEORIES AS TENTATIVE, ALWAYS SUBJECT TO CHANGE IN THE LIGHT OF NEW EVIDENCE.

G6c The intellectual and harmonizing functions of leadership are rarely combined in the same person.

d. One of the major strategic decisions the leader faces is the use of the resources of the organization with maximumefficiency and effect.

1) Any candidate or his finance advisor must use available funds wisely, because of the expense of campaigns.

2) Campaign managers face serious questions of campaign strategy, questions which include the best possible use of the time and energies of the candidate and other speakers and staff members.

e. Although some political candidates are policy originators, they may leave much of the party strategy and intellectual leadership to a group of advisors. This is increasingly true in this era of specialization. It is also true of many state or county chairmen.

170. Ask pupils to imagine that they are either a candidate or a campaign manager. What decisions must they take before the campaign begins? Ask pupils to consider this question briefly. Do not try to get a thorough answer at this point. Instead tell pupils that they will return to this question as they study campaigns in more detail. VI A3

171. Tell pupils that in 1960 Nixon promised to campaign in every state. If they were the candidate or the campaign manager for a Presidential candidate, would they make the same decision? Why or why not? Again, let pupils come to tentative conclusions to be discussed in more detail after they have studied the electoral college and political campaigns. VI A3

172. On the chalkboard, list the key advisors to some current or past Presidential candidate. What are the jobs of these men? Describe some of the policy statements prepared for some presidential candidates. Why do pupils think these candidates did not prepare them themselves? Tell pupils that most major candidates now have speech writers to prepare many of their speeches. Why? Describe some of criticisms of Stevenson as a candidate -- criticisms which arose because he insisted on polishing his own speeches and not taking time to do some other things. VI B

G12 Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

G9 Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous statements, and the cues for responses they suggest. However, no country lives up to its ideology completely.

S Establishes hypotheses and tests against data.

S Considers possible consequences of different courses of action.

G13 Since most social problems arise from multiple causes, simple solutions are unlikely to do away with all of the causes. Moreover, the solution to one problem may give rise to other problems.

VII. The President and Vice-President are the only officials representing all of the voters in the country; even those officials are not elected directly by the voters but rather by an electoral college made up of electors selected by the voters.

A. The electoral college makes it possible for a person to be elected president even though he has fewer popular votes than his opponent.

B. All of the proposals for retaining the electoral college but changing the method of selection would also have resulted in some presidents elected by fewer popular votes than their opponents received.

173.	Point out to pupils that the President and the Vice-President are the only two officials who represent all of the voters in the country. Review with pupils the way in which the electoral college works. Use charts to illustrate. Point out that the Constitution does not require this system of dividing up electoral votes.	VI VIII E4 XII C3	Wall chart on operation of electoral college.
174.	Show pupils charts to illustrate: (1) that men have been chosen president with fewer popular votes than their chief opponent, and (2) examples of how this can happen. Then discuss: Is the electoral college democratic? Why was it established? Why would it be difficult to abolish it completely? (Ask pupils what action would have to be taken to abolish electoral college. How many states would have to approve amendment? What states would stand to lose if electoral college were abolished?)	VIII E1 IX E4	Wall charts on electoral college.
175.	Ask pupils if they can think of any other way of changing the electoral college so that it would be more likely to select the man with the most popular votes. Compare ideas of pupils with some of proposals made in Congress. Then use charts to illustrate the fact that so long as the electoral college is in existence, a man could win the popular vote but lose the election. Quote studies done on what would have happened in past if these reforms had been in existence. Point out the popular and electoral vote for Kennedy and Nixon lin 1960. Show pupils that Nixon would have won election if electors had been divided in each state in accordance with the popular vote.	XIII A	Wall charts on electoral college reforms. World Almanac

A IS SCEPTICAL OF THEORIES OF SINGLE CAUSATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND IS EQUALLY SCEPTICAL OF PANACEAS.

G13 The solution to one problem may give rise to other problems.

G8d The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which authoritative decisions of the political process are made; they thus affect these decisions.

G1g Accommodation between antagonistic rivals is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties.

G4b The electoral and ideological functions of a political party are almost always in competition with each other; in order to build majority support, the party in a plural society has to make

C. The electoral college method of electing a president has been one factor in promoting our two-party system.

D. Presidential candidates are selected by national conventions; however, the presidential preferential primary is becoming more important as a means of affecting the convention's choice.

1. Candidates are usually chosen with the electoral college and the voters in mind; each party wishes to win the election.

176.	Draw two diagrams on the blackboard -- one to illustrate a state in which all electoral votes go to the man who wins the popular vote and one state in which the electoral votes are divided. Use the device used earlier to indicate the number of voters in three political parties. In which state would there be more of an attempt by the two major parties to make appeals to third party voters? Why? In which state would third party voters be more likely to vote for one of the two major candidates? Why?	XIII A	
177.	Have a committee prepare a symposium on national conventions and the process of nominating a president. They should describe the different ways in which delegates are chosen to the conventions, nominations, demonstrations, and voting. (What difference does this situation make to decisions of conventions?)	VIII E1, 2	Bendiner, White House Fever White, Making of the President, 1964.
178.	Once again look at the list read earlier on the characteristics which make a man available for the nomination. Examine this list in the light of what pupils now know about the electoral college. Discuss the role of favorite sons. Why will state delegates eventually switch to other candidates? What factors rank uppermost in the selection of candidates?	I B1; E1a, b; E3a IV A2 b1) VI A 2c; C	

compromises as to the conflicting attitudes, interests, and ideologies in the society.

G13 Since most social problems arise from multiple causes, simple solutions are unlikely to do away with all of the causes. Moreover, the solutions to one problem may give rise to other problems.

G14 Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency and diversity.

A SCEPTICISM OF PANACEAS.

2. Presidential preferential primaries are coming to have a more important role in the final choice of a candidate; however, a man can win in many of the primaries without winning the election. Moreover, the presidential preferential primary is costly in time and effort for the candidates and gives a few states considerable influence out of proportion to their population. Even in these states, the voters have no choice between all of the candidates.

179.	Have a committee prepare a symposium on presidential preferential primaries. Has this state every had such a primary? What candidates run in these primaries? Do voters in a state get a chance to vote on all candidates who will come before the national convention? How do candidates decide whether or not to run in a primary? How binding are primary votes?	XIII E XIV D	White, Making of the President 1960, Boardiner, White House Fever, Ogden and Peterson, President: 1964.
180.	Play the selection from the recording "The Making of the President" dealing with the Wisconsin and West Virginia primaries in 1960. How did Kennedy's victory help him win the nomination? Discuss implication for influence of small states on nomination. Also discuss financial and physical strains on candidates.	XIII E	Recording: "The Making of the President."
181.	Point out cases in which the nomination failed to go to someone who had won in most of the primaries (e.g. Kafauver in 1952). Why wasn't he nominated? How did primaries hurt candidates? Show pupils that primaries may be becoming more important.	XIII E	

Glh Compromise is easier where there is not an ideological perception of issues.

Gle Compromise is most likely to occur where there is a relative equality of power and therefore something approaching a deadlock in the decision.

Glc Conflict serves to establish and maintain the identity and boundary lines of societies and groups.

S Distinguishes between relevant and irrelevant information. (Identifies irrelevant persuasion devices.)

G3 Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures created for them by communicators; they react to these images rather than to the real world and real people.

3. Usually there are conflicting groups within the party. Each wants to nominate its own candidates; whether it continues to support its candidates for long depends on its assessment of the strength of the other factions.

4. Attempts are made at conventions to arouse interest of voters in the country (note television time chosen), arouse party workers to greater effort, and to promote party unity.

   a. Conflict with another group leads to the mobilization of group members and hence to increased cohesion of the group. Political parties are likely to have greater cohesion during an election than between elections.

   b. Speeches are usually filled with attacks on other party and/or defense of own party's program.

VIII. Political campaigns are more effective in mobilizing voters and getting them to the polls than in changing vote preferences.

182.	Use example from past conventions to illutrate the bitter controversy within parties in some years. Then play or quote statements by defeated candidates in favor of unity. Discuss conventions in terms of role of parties in compromise and reasons for compromise. Also discuss lack of ideology as factor in making compromise possible.	I A2, E1b
183.	Perhaps play part of an acceptance speech made by some candidate. Have pupils analyze it for types of persuasion devices. Ask: what kind of speech is this supposed to be? Or play an excerpt from a keynote address. Have pupils analyze it for propaganda techniques.	I C III B
184.	Discuss: What is the purpose of a political campaign? Why don't presidential candidates start campaigning right after their nomination?	I C2, 3 II E
185.	Show the film "True Story of an Election" Use it to review (through comparison) what pupils have already studied and to introduce the section on political campaigns.	Film: "True Story of an Election," Churchill Films.

A EVALUATES INFORMATION.

S Distinguishes between relevant and irrelevant information. (Identifies irrelevant persuasion devices.)

S Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.

S Distinguishes between facts, inferences, and value judgments.

S Checks on the bias and competency of sources of information.

G3 Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures created for them by communicators; they react to these images rather than to the real world and real people.

A. Candidates use many types of persuasion techniques even when they also discuss issues.

186.	Play tapes of several of the political speeches made during the current campaign. Have pupils analyze them for persuasion devices and for the stand candidates take on issues. (Or remind pupils of some of the political speeches of the past which they listened to earlier.) Point out use of biased years as cardstacking device. Give examples. Discuss: How will an inteliigent voter react to a candidate who uses persuasion devices? (Note need to discount such devices without necessarily rejecting candidate, since most candidates use them.)	III B1, 2	
187.	Have several pupils attend a political rally and compare their reactions with reports in newspapers. They should report on persuasion devices used as well as on policy stands of candidates. Or have pupils watch a TV political speech or program and compare with newspaper accounts of speech.	III B2	
188.	Remind pupils of the meaning of band wagon technique. Have them set up hypotheses about possible effectiveness of such a technique and check against data from Erie County study.	III B1	Lazarsfeld, et al., The People's Choice, 108.

G6b One of the major strategic decisions which the leadership faces is the deployment and use of the resources of the organization with maximum efficiency and effect.

S Interprets cartoons.

S Distinguishes between relevant and irrelevant information.

189. Have pupils analyze some of the campaign literature which class members have brought in and posted on the bulletin board. III B

190. Have a group of students make 2 x 2 slides of campaign posters and advertising signs found in the neighborhood. Analyze these for persuasion devices. III B

191. Ask pupils to bring in examples of campaign advertising in newspapers. Analyze for persuasion devices. Also have a pupil check on the cost of advertising in the paper. He should then estimate the cost of each of the advertisements brought to class. Discuss: Given such costs, what problems face candidates and their finance advisors? III B VI A3a

192. Invite a political cartoonist to class to discuss ways in which he tries to get across his ideas, the meaning of cartoon symbols, and the use of persuasion devices in cartoon. III B

193. Analyze some of the political cartoons which pupils have been collecting. Perhaps project some famous political cartoons from the past. III B

194. Have a pupil draw a cartoon showing a politician using persuasion devices. Or several pupils might draw their own political cartoons on the current political candidates or issues. III B

195. Post pictures illustrating use of persuasion techniques. (e.g. candidate speaking before picture of Lincoln or Kennedy; candidate kissing babies; candidate IIIB

G3 Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures created for them by communicators: they react to these images rather than to the real world and real people.

S Identifies inconsistencies.

S Distinguishes between relevant and irrelevant information.

Gla In political conflict there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; the conflicting sides attempt to use the authority of the political system to win the conflict.

G7 Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizen as well as from citizen to government.

G? The individual participant in the political process approaches the process with a compiex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals.

dressing in queer clothes or joining Indian tribe, etc.)

196. Give pupils an exercise on picking out inconsistencies in excerpts from political speeches.

197. Have pupils analyze scrapbooks they have kept and report on use of persuasion devices as well as on issues. — III B

198. Pupils might debate one of the current issues if there is one easy enough for this purpose for eighth graders. Discuss: Do voters raise issues and suggest solutions or do candidates and other leaders do so? What is the job of voters? — I A1, VII A, C

199. Invite candidates of both parties to class. It may be better to have them come at different times. Ask each to present his views and the arguments for his party. (He might also be asked why he went into politics.) — I A1, II A, F3

G4 Political organizations act in the political system to organize and mobilize political power of individuals or aggregates behind candidates for office and policy alternatives.

G4ε Groups have latent (hidden or unexpressed) functions as well as manifest (expressed) functions.

G7 Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizen as well as from citizen to government.

G11 Government action may protect as well as restrict rights of individuals and groups.

G3 Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures created for them by communicators; they react to these images rather than to the real world and real people.

B. Candidates and parties use a variety of techniques for mobilizing support during a campaign. In the process, they help educate some voters about important issues.

200. Have a committee present a symposium on the use of television and the effects of this kind of campaigning on candidates and on voters. They should note changes in kind of television programs. They should report on Kennedy-Nixon debates. And they should report on legal restrictions on television stations during campaigns. Then have class analyze table on effect of first Kennedy-Nixon television debate	III A IV A 2b 3) VII B2 XI A2	Daniel Ogden and Arther Peterson, Electing the President, 1964, ch. 8. Michelson in Cannon, ed., Politics U.S.A., ch. 19; Time, June 5, 1964, p. 20. Table in Hugh Bone and Austin Ranney, Politics and Voters, p. 38.
201. Have each pupil read at least one account of campaigning. Be sure that different pupils read different accounts. Discuss techniques used in campaigning. Why do candidates make such great efforts to meet voters? How do they help educate voters about issues? How important do issues seem to be in a campaign?	III A, B3 IV A2 b3 VI A 3c, 4; B1, 2; D1, 2, 3, VII B1	Adlai E. Stevenson, Major Campaign Speeches, pp. XII-XIII; Jerry Voorhis, Confessions of a Congressmen, ch. 1; Ogden and Peterson, Electing

G3 Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures created for them by communicators; they react to these images rather than to the real world and real people.

G5d Political power may rest in formal governmental positions, but it need not.

G6b One of the major strategic decisions which the leadership faces is the deployment and use of the resources of the organization with maxium efficiency and effect.

G6b One of the major strategic decisions which the leadership faces is the deployment and use of the resources of the organization with maxiumu efficiency and effect.

C. Candidates are using their own opinion polls in more and more cases in order to identify the issues which seem more likely to win support and to decide what kind of an image to try to build.

D. Campaigns are usually built around some overall campaign strategy.

E. Campaigns are extremely expensive; laws regulating campaign expenditure are evaded.

			the President, 1964, (chapters on "Going to the People"); Paul H. Douglas, "Running for Office Means What It Says," New York Times Magazine, Sept. 5, 1948.
202.	A pupil might prepare a campaign bulletin giving advice to party workers on how to win votes and on different campaign techniques, including use of television.	III B VI A3b VII B2	
203.	Have a student report on the use of polls by candidates during a campaign. How are they used?	III A, B3 VII B2	Harris in Cannon, Politics, U. S. A., Ch. 17.
204.	Have a pupil report on an article dealing with overall campaign strategy. For example, he might report on the Johnson and Goldwater strategies of 1964. Or he might report on the strategy of some current candidate. Or he might report on the advice given by a former campaign manager such as Humphreys. He might supplement such statements by a general discussion such as that in Loeb and Safire or in Practical Political Action. Discuss strategies and also the political power of campaign managers.	V E VI A3 b4	Ogden and Peterson, ch. 1 Humphreys in Cannon, Politics, U. S. A., ch. 13 Loeb and Safire, ch. 10 Practical Political Action.
205.	Have a pupil report on campaign expenses. He should find out the cost of 5 minutes on local television stations at different times of day. He should find out cost of a half hour nation-wide hookup in evening prime	VI A3	See also Ogden and Peterson, Electing the President, 197-200.

G11 Government action may protect or restrict rights of individuals and groups.

G13 Since most social problems arise from multiple causes, simple solutions are unlikely to do away with all of the causes. Moreover, the solution to one problem may give rise to others.

G15 The political system includes a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

G7a Democracy is dependent upon the efforts of the people and their willingness to study issues, hold offices, do jobs.

S Draws inferences from tables (voting records)

S Detects inconsistencies

F. Voters can get help in finding out about candidates from several organizations and publications.

time. He should find out costs of half page advertisement in local newspaper. He should find out cost of advertising on a big outdoor sign.

206. Have pupils study chart on campaign contributions. Discuss problems of cost for candidates and parties. Why does the government try to regulate the amount which people can contribute? Tell class some of rules and how candidates get around them.

XI A
XIII H
XIV D

Heard, The Costs of Democracy.

207. Discuss difficulty of following issues and studying candidates. Have a pupil interview a representative of the League of Women's Voters. Or have one speak to the class on the way in which the League helps citizens in general and on the way it studies issues.

II A3
VII D5

208. Have pupils analyze newspaper voting supplements which give background information and candidates' answers to questions.

II A3
III A
VII D5

209. Prepare a simple voting record on major issues of some of current candidates. Help pupils read record by teaching them meaning of symbols and the

VII D5

G8b Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G2a A person's political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals are learned through a process of political socialization.

G. Campaigns are less effective in changing votes than in mobilizing supporters to go to the polls.

meaning of certain kinds of motions on which legislators have voted. Show pupils sources of voting records. Then give class an exercise on reading a voting record (to be constructed for each campaign) which includes inconsistent votes.

210.	Have pupils do the exercise on the effectiveness of campaigns in changing votes in terms of when voters make up minds.	II B2; E VIII B2	Campbell, et al., The American Voter, 78. "Exercises on The American Voter," number 58.
211.	If this unit is being taught during a campaign, have pupils ask their parents if they have made up their minds yet as to how they will vote. If they have, pupils should ask them when they made up their minds and why they made up their minds as they did. Compare results with study by political scientists.	II A, B1 VIII B2; C	Table in Campbell, et al., The American Voter, 78. "Exercises on The American Voter," number 58.
212.	Have pupils analyze tables on Detroit study which examined relationship of party exposure to voting in comparison with exposure to television programs on politics.	II B1	Samuel Eldersveld, Political Parties, 515; 460 "Exercises on The American Voter," numbers 56, 57.
213.	Ask: What kinds of polticial propaganda do you think most voters will pay attention to during a campaign: that from both parties or largely that from their own party? Now have pupils check their guess against data from the Erie County Study.	II E	Lazarsfeld, et al., The People's Choice, 82, 90. "Exercises on The American Voter," numbers 49-50.

S Applies previously-learned generalizations and concepts to new data.

G2 The individual participant in the political process approaches the process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals.

G2a A person's political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals are learned through a process of political socialization.

IX. Voters differ greatly in their reasons for voting as they do; some vote according to ideology and issues; some according to candidates, and some according to party identification.

A. Most Americans vote according to party identification, and few voters have ideological reasons for supporting a particular political party.

B. Many voters do not make much of an effort to follow the news or study issues in a campaign, even though they may hold opinions about such issues. However, they seem not to be any worse informed than people in other countries.

C. Although radio and television and newspapers are important sources of information during campaigns, voters tend to pay more attention to those with whom they associate, such as families and friends.

214.	Review what pupils learned earlier about extent and influence of party identification. Now have pupils do exercises on reasons given for this party identification. Before they begin, be sure they understand the meaning of "liberal," "conservative," and "middle of the road." What differences are there in these positions in terms of attitudes toward the role of government? (These differences are important for later units as well as for this exercise.) Perhaps clarify differences by using examples from attitudes of pupils toward changing certain rules or practices in school (e.g. Rules of football; practice of skip day for seniors; giving grades in courses; some well-known tradition in the school, etc.)	I E4 II A1, 3, 4 5 III A VIII B	Campbell, et al., The American Voter, 252. "Exercises on the American Voter," numbers 42-43.
215.	Have pupils set up hypotheses related to the following questions: How well informed do you think American adults are about political issues? How do you think they compare with adults in other countries such as Britain and Germany? How much do you think American adults know about their own form of government? Now let pupils check hypotheses against data from studies. Then discuss: What implications do you think the data have for American voting behavior?	VII A	Campbell, et al., The American Voter, 174; Survey Research Center, "Interest, Information, and Attitudes in the Field of Foreign Affairs," 21; Almond and Verba, Civic Culture, 54; "Exercises on the American Voter," numbers 45-47.
216.	Ask: How important do you think the news media are in helping voters make up their minds during a campaign? Let pupils set up hypotheses and check against data from Erie County study. Then read conclusions from that study. Do they agree with earlier generalizations reached by students about influence of families and friends?	II B1	Lazarsfeld, et al., The People's Choice, table p. 127.

G6b One of the major strategic decisions which the leadership faces is the deployment and use of the resources of the organization with maximum efficiency and effect.

G2 The individual participant in the political process approaches the process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals.

G2c Freedom is to a large extent culturally determined; the individual has to be taught what the options are, how one goes about exercising them, why he should exercise them, and a desire to exercise them.

G2 The individual participant in the political process approaches the political process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals.

G7a Democracy is dependent upon the efforts of the people and their willingness to study issues, hold offices, do jobs.

G11 Government action may protect as well as restrict rights of individuals and groups.

D. Nevertheless, more Americans have a feeling of political efficacy than citizens in other countries; they may not be politically active, but they may become so if their feelings are aroused about some issue.

X. State governments have set up a number of procedural safeguards to try to prevent fraud at elections and to promote absentee voting.

217.	Ask pupils to imagine that they are campaign managers. They have just examined data on why voters vote as they do. Would any of this data influence their decisions as to how to run a campaign?	VI A3b	
218.	If pupils have conducted a neighborhood poll, have them report their findings.	IIA	
219.	Have pupils study a table which compares Americans with people in other countries as to their feelings of political efficacy. Perhaps paraphrase conclusions of staff which made this study. How do people acquire different attitudes toward political efficacy?	II A2, D3 VII D2b	Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture.
220.	Remind pupils of problems of election frauds. Have a pupil report on the local registration procedures if there are any. Does the entire state have permanent	XI A1	

A. Many states have adopted permanent registration procedures; some demand registration prior to each election.

B. States have set up election day procedures to try to prevent fraud.

G13 There are no easy solutions to social problems; since most social problems arise from multiple causes, simple solutions are unlikely to do away with all of the causes. Moreover, the solution to one problem may give rise to other problems.

C. Many places have adopted voting machines; even voting machines, however, can be tampered with.

registration? What is the purpose of permanent registration? How does it compare with registration for each election? The pupil might obtain a sample registration card from his own or a neighboring community. Project with opaque projector to show the kind of information requested. Also describe procedure for checking on honesty of registration. Pupil may wish to interview the town or city clerk about procedures used.

221. A pupil might prepare an opaque projection strip or a series of transparencies for the overhead projector to use in a report on election procedures designed to safeguard election. Or use a series of charts and forms to illustrate procedures used in trying to prevent frauds when ballots are used. XI A1

222. Project examples of ways in which voters spoil their ballots by carelessness. Why do states have laws against making special marks on ballots? How were such ballots counted in the famous 1962 gubernatorial recount in Minnesota? XI A1 Stinnett and Backstrom, Recount.

223. A pupil might write an editorial giving voters advice on how to keep from wasting their vote because of failure to understand election rules.

224. Try to take pupils to visit a place that is demonstrating the use of a voting machine. Or try to obtain a working model to show pupils. Or post a picture of the voting machine levers, etc. A pupil might report on how voting machines can be tampered with. However, the class should compare this danger of fraud with that when ballots are used. Also discuss difficulties XI A1 XIII

A. SCEPTICISM OF PANACEAS.

G7a Democracy is dependent upon the efforts of the people and their willingness to study issues, hold offices, do jobs.

D. States generally provide for absentee voting so that those who are ill or who must be away from their home town on election day will not lose their votes.

A SCEPTICISM OF PANACEAS.

G13 There are no easy solutions to social problems; since most social problems arise from multiple causes, simple solutions are unlikely to do away with all of the causes. Moreover, the solution to one problem may give rise to other problems.

which some voters have with voting machines.

225. Have a party worker explain the job of a poll watcher. Read aloud instructions given poll watchers or telling voters what to do if their vote is challenged. VII D

226. Have a pupil explain the procedure for getting and voting an absentee ballot in his district. XV B

Culminating Activities

227. Have pupils write editorials on "Don't Throw Your Vote Away" or "Be Sure to Register" or "Be Sure to Vote." Discuss: Should committees conduct registration campaigns or Get-Out-the Vote Campaigns?

228. Have pupils carry out the mock election in the school which was planned earlier. Have them then report back to class on the difficulties in counting votes and on the kinds of things which pupils did to their ballots.

229. Ask pupils to think back to all of the reforms which have been proposed or tried. Have they solved the problem for which they were designed? (Would other proposals solve the problem?) Have they led or would they lead to any new problems? XIII

S Differentiates between facts, inferences, and value judgments.

230. Have pupils think of the reforms in terms of the values held by the reformers. Do pupils accept these values? How can social scientists help people decide if certain courses of action will help achieve values? Can social scientists provide the answers to value decisions?

231. By way of summary, ask: Who shares the job of decision-making in our political system? Go back to the Sorauf chart on our political system and see if pupils wish to add (on acetate) any more ways in which the different conponents affect each other.

232. Give pupils a test which includes skills items. Include a mock political speech which pupils should analyze for persuasion devices, inconsistencies, assumptions, policy stands. Or play a tape of a political speech from a different campaign and ask pupils to analyze. In this case do not tell class name of speaker.

233. If unit is taught in an election year, analyze results of school poll as compared to results in district or state. Are they the same? If not, can pupils account for differences? Also discuss outcomes of election and implications for Congress and state legislature.

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THE AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Frank J. Sorauf

In large, representative democracies the gulf between the individual citizen and distant, expanding government is a broad one. Increasingly special political organizations -- especially the interest group and the political party -- have arisen to mobilize individuals and their miniscule political power into aggregates capable of electing people to public office and capable of effective pressure on political decision-makers. Furthermore, these political organizations function as symbols and promulgators of political issues and ideologies. In other words, they state issues and policies, however vague and elusive, and they organize political aggregates. Sometimes, but not always, the political party allies the aggregating function closely with the business of stating issues. The essentially non-ideological American parties remain one of the classic exceptions however.

Within the American political system the political parties have come to occupy a deeply institutionalized place in the contesting of elections. This function they perform above all other. But it is only the two major American parties which are primarily electoral parties, and that point raises the first of two preliminary observations. An attention far out of proportion to their importance in the American political system has traditionally been accorded the American third (or minor) parties. They are often interestingly eccentric, they often have regional interest and relevance, and they often raise interesting issues of ideology and social protest. But it is a two-party system of which we are talking; the minor parties are by their nature non-competitive and usually have only the remotest influence on the political system. The frequently-made assertion that they force the major parties to adopt new policy positions is questionable, given the nature of competitive politics, and by its nature it cannot be proved or disproved. But all of this is merely to suggest that for the study of the American political system the third party ought to be kept in a perspective which relates to its role in American politics.

A second reminder ought also to be mentioned. The political party is a social organization; it has the membership and clienteles, the stability and ongoing expectations, the internal authority relationships, and the incentives to activity that one finds in any social organization. Failure to recognize these aspects of the political party will only produce the one-dimensional approaches to political parties far too common already. To take an example, the histories of the American parties have, with very few exceptions, been histories of national Presidential elections. At best they have been imprecise attempts to piece together the voter coalitions the parties attracted at these elections. But rarely in them does one find the party as a

political party, as a political organization.

With those brief warnings in mind, we consider the following five topic approaches to the American parties.

I.) The American Party System

Scholars of political parties employ a single criterion in defining party systems: the criterion of competitiveness. The party system is denominated by the number of competitive ("major") parties it has; the non-competitive parties do not count. Thus we find more than one political party in many one-party systems, more than two in many two-party systems, and so on. The basic issue underlying these varying types of party system is, of course, their cause -- why do some countries have multi-party systems, some two-party systems, and others a single party system? The question phrased in terms of the American system concerns the particular reasons for the very special and enduring -- and really unique -- two-party system in the United States. The general questions of cause may be in part a simple legal matter; laws may outlaw certain parties, or even all parties except one. Otherwise, the causes of party systems probably rest in some mixture of two categories of explanation: the institutional (the presence of single-member districts and plurality elections probably do lead to two-partyism; ditto the presence of single executives, such as the American President) and the social (e.g., unifying traditions such as those of the Confederate South, the presence of agreement or disagreement on basic political, social, and economic arrangements). Within the American system the problem is also to account for one-party dominance in some parts of the system and two-party competitiveness in others.

Perhaps even more basic is the question of the roles of the parties in the various systems. The major American parties perform the aggregating function competitively; they compete for public office by competing for majorities of voters. To do so they must be broad alliances struggling to be majorities, and to do that they have to broaden and dilute their appeals while they compromise differences in the American electorate. They focus on men and symbols which unite, rather than on interests and ideas which divide. They are loose, inclusive, diverse, non-dogmatic brokerage parties more concerned with winning elections than with stating great issues or ideologies. Minor parties, on the other hand, have by and large given up the battle to control elections. In organization and appearance they seem more like interest groups; they are exclusive rather than inclusive, more interested in the issue and idea than in electoral compromises.

Finally, there are changes abroad in the American party system which deserve mention. One-partyism has declined, even to the point at which the South is no longer "solid" and minor parties have virtually disappeared from the political scene. The decline of both phenomena are related; the nationalization, growing uniformity, and declining regionalism and localism in American life undercuts both one-party domination and minor parties.

Both thrive on local tradition or local homogenity; Democratic domination in the South and Socialism in Milwaukee were both essentially provincial, local phenomena. Growing diversity and industrialism in all parts of the country combined with a nationalization of American political life -- national candidates and personalities, national ideologies and issues -- have worked their changes. One increasingly finds the dimensions of the national, two-party politics spreading to all the political sub-systems in the country.

II.) The Party as an Organization

Numberless scholars have noted the basic decentralization of the American party organizations; the triteness of the observation, however, makes it no less true or important. The national committees of the parties are weak and relatively ineffectual captives of both the Congressional parties and the state and local party organizations. Only once in every four years does the national party act as a national party on the single occasion of nominating and electing a President. The reasons for this decentralization are no less obscure than the fact itself: the many local elective offices in the American federalism, the local variations in issues and traditions, the decentralization of political incentives, among others. To simplify, the American parties are decentralized because American government and political traditions and interests are decentralized.

The party as an organization is at its most tangible form in the local party unit, the active functioning unit within the party hierarchy. Popular myth would have it that the "machine" and "bosses" dominate party organization. While they do survive in some cities, they have never been and are not now the organizational norm. The machine, with its full-time workers and its disciplined lines of authority, functioned as an electoral organization and as a social welfare agency; it did and does reflect the needs and political culture of the disadvantaged urban minorities. But other forms of organization exist, and a contrast among them affords a good exercise in relating the party to broader social and political influences. In many parts of the country the party organization is little more than an active chairman plus some occasional hangers-on. And newer "club" type parties are springing up in suburbia and upper-middle class urban areas; they have been marked by participating membership, social activities, ideological involvement, reformism, and an appeal to intellectual groups.

Finally, in looking at the party as an organization one ought not to overlook the system of incentives which bring men and women into activity within the party. What are, in other words, the rewards which attract them to the party rather than to the PTA or the Masonic lodge? Patronage or some other form of immediate, tangible, reward was the preeminent reward of the old-style machine, but newer middle-class party organizations increasingly depend on ideological

and social rewards. Many of the Republican organizations today illustrate the force of a political ideology in recruiting and rewarding party activists. In any event, as incentives shift, so does the nature of the laborers they recruit, and ultimately, so do the goals, the methods, and the style of the party itself.

III.) The Party as Elector

The American parties are essentially electoral parties. It is essential to keep in mind, however, that this electoral process is a lengthy one. For many parties it begins with the recruitment and encouragement (or discouragement) of candidates, continues through the primary campaign, and concludes some months later with the general election.

In their attempt to control the recruitment and nomination of candidates the American parties face the distinctly American hurdle of the direct primary. Whoever can win a primary can run as the party's candidate, regardless of how much he disagrees with the party leadership or embarasses it. The party that makes no attempt to control the primary surrenders control over the candidates who will represent and embody its symbols, its programs, and its interests. A good share of the lack of party cohesion in American legislatures may reflect the inability of the party to control the nomination of candidates. All this is not to say, though, that the parties have no ways of controlling the primary. They do -- and many of them wage a continuous battle to do so. But at least the student ought to have some idea of the basically anti-party rationale behind the primary and of the consequences it has had for the American parties. Here, too, he can see the relationship between electoral systems and the parties; the impact of the open and closed primaries, for example, are different in that the former has the generally more severe consequences.

But the parties must fight to control the election campaign as well as the nomination of the candidates. Candidates tend to set up ad hoc campaign committees and to rely on personal followings; they may even fear identification with their party. When campaigning depended on party-sponsored rallies and on door-to-door canvassing, the party was indispensible in the campaign. But the growth of media-centered campaigns and an increasing reliance on the skills of public relations specialists and pollsters have made the party and its personnel and wisdom less essential. In addition, the role of the parties in the election has been compromised by non-partisan elections, by limits on party spending (unaccompanied by limits on non-party organizations), and by the American tradition of political "independence."

To these general outlines, one great exception exists: the nomination and election of a President. Here the old convention system of nomination continues, and the party can con-

trol the nomination and election processes to a considerable extent. The convention also provides the party with a much-needed occasion for unifying and reintegrating the diverse elements of the party; the party can select a candidate who will unite the party as well as win the election. But even here there are signs that intensive pre-convention campaigns -- aided by the media, the ad men, the pollsters, and modern jet travel -- may increasingly force the hand of the convention and, in effect, deprive the party of the power of nomination.

IV.) The Party as an Electorate

While the parties are more than groups of voters, their electorates are a crucial part of the party. One can begin by examining the long-run attachments and loyalties of partisans who identify themselves with one party or the other in opinion polls. At the moment and for the last generation a substantial majority of Americans have identified with the Democratic party. Furthermore, there are social differences between the aggregates who identify with the two parties. The Democrats attract a significant preponderance of urban voters, of Catholics and Jews, of members of ethnic and racial minorities, of lower socio-economic status groups, and of "blue collar" workers. Students usually find it especially interesting to examine the partisan attachments within their family and community and to explore the explanations for the partisan preferences of these social groups.

On a shorter run basis the political party enters into the decision of voters in specific elections. One scholarly work has suggested that most of the appeals of an American Presidential election fall into one of three categories: the party-centered appeals, the candidate-centered, and the issue-centered. A party may consciously play on one or the other of them; the Republicans of necessity must find overridingly appealing candidates or issues to offset the advantage in party loyalties the Democrats command. The question here, then, is how the voter makes his voting decision in the election. What factors influence it? When does he make it? Where does he get his information and his reinforcements in making it? And to what extent do his long-run party loyalties aid him in perceiving and ordering the choice of the specific election?

The issue, in other words, is the issue of what makes men Democrats and Republicans, both in the long and short runs. We also see the diverse voter compositions of the two parties which result, for regardless of tendencies in the aggregate, each party has within its voter coalition representatives of all major social groups in the United States (there are union members who are Republicans, businessmen who are Democrats, etc.). That diversity suggests that people are brought into the parties for diverse reasons, only one of which is ideology and issues. Otherwise one would not find a Harry Byrd and Hubert Humphrey in the same party, a Barry Goldwater and Jacob Javitts in the other. In

fact, the very diverse nature of their electorates produces two parties of such diversity of outlooks that they are unable to state programs which might give the American electorate coherent and contrasting ideological alternatives.

V.) Party and the Power to Govern

Americans elect men to public office in the judicial, executive, and legislative branches on party tickets. Does the party then control the operation of these branches? To what extent does the party demand that its elected representatives carry out the party programs or the party wishes? The general truth of the matter is that American parties generally do not (and probably cannot) discipline the men they put into office to the same extent that the parties of the other Western democracies do. And yet the parties do serve an important role, especially in the executive and legislature. (Probably the question of the party in some judiciaries can by bypassed.)

Executive power and leadership -- in mayors, governors, and the President -- have in this century been bound up with leadership of a political party. Constitutionally weak, the American executive depends increasingly on the popular loyalty and support he commands as the leader of a majority party. His leadership of a political party -- and his ability to force it to share his image and program -- is one of his main assets in dealing with the legislature. The party loyalties also help to tie his top-level administrative appointees together in common support of his program. These appointments may also be used as a reservoir of top-grade patronage with which the executive may induce and reward party and personal loyalty.

In the Congress and all but two state legislatures the parties organize the legislative chambers and pick the legislative leadership. That role of the party is virtually universal. Far more variation exists in the ability of the party to guide the votes and behavior of the individual legislator. In some states party discipline is firm and even ruthless; in others it is not. Party discipline in the Congress falls somewhere between the two extremes. On the overall, however, party lines break down more frequently in the American legislatures than in comparable democracies. The reasons -- the political diversity, localism and decentralization of politics, the separation of powers, the power of interest groups, a political culture of "independence" -- are rewarding to examine, for here converge the major forces within American parties and politics.

Finally, the student might in an elementary way begin to think about whether or not the party ought to assume a greater role in organizing American office-holders on behalf of party programs. This question American political scientists debate as the issue of "party responsibility." It involves first the

question of whether -- given the diverse, decentralized, non-ideological parties -- greater party discipline is possible. And if possible, is it desirable? Proponents would argue the necessity of party strength and control to help voters choose among clear alternatives and determine future policy by their vote. On the contrary, there are those who argue that voters are not vastly interested in issues and programs, and that even if they were the two parties alone cannot represent all the complex and cross-cutting interests in American political life.

Bibliography

The basic text on the American political parties is by V.O. Key and is entitled Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, 5th edition (New York: Crowell, 1964). It is comprehensive, and unlike most texts it includes original scholarly material and analysis; it is, in fact, really the standard treatise on the subject. Another text that stands out from the others is the Ranney and Kendall Democracy and the American Party System (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956); it has an analytical point of view (the relationship of the party system to the American democracy), and its analysis is good. Two shorter interpretative studies that discuss the parties in their entirety are: E.E. Schattschneider, Party Government (New York: Rinehart, 1942) and Frank J. Sorauf, Political Parties in the American System (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964). Both also have annotated bibliographies.

When one leaves the general studies, there is an enormous amount of more specialized material available. What follows here is a very selective list which suggests some major works which will be helpful in preparing various aspects of this unit:

1.) V.O. Key, Southern Politics (New York; Knopf, 1949): a little out of date, but still the great book on the South, with special emphasis on the causes and nature of one-partyism in the United States.

2.) James Q. Wilson, The Amateur Democrat (Chicago: U. of Chicago, 1962): a thoughtful and analytical study of the new "club" movement in American party organization.

3.) Wilfred Binkley, American Political Parties (New York: Knopf, 1962; fourth edition): the best brief history of the American parties, long on electoral history, but short on the history of the party as an organization.

4.) Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960): this is the classic volume on the voting behavior and party identifications of the American electorate; an abridged paperback was issued in 1964.

5.) Paul David et al., The Politics of the National Party Conventions (Washington: Brookings, 1960): a definitive study of the Presidential

nominating conventions, also available in an abridged paperback.

6.) Alexander Heard, The Costs of Democracy (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina, 1960): an excellent summary of knowledge about money in American politics.

7.) Julius Turner, Party and Constituency (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1952) and David Truman, The Congressional Party (New York: Wiley, 1959): these two books deal most directly and effectively with the question of party influence on the Congress.

8.) Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association, Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System (New York: Rinehart, 1950): this is the report of a scholarly committee which crystallized the battle, pro and con, over "party responsibility;" the report is "pro" but disputed by many political scientists.

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

Frank J. Sorauf

Probably no field in all of political science shows the past generation's revolution within the discipline as much as the one called "political behavior." It is here that political science meets the concerns of sociology, anthropology, and psychology, even overlapping them at times. The field of political behavior is, for example, very similar in its interests to the field in sociology called "political sociology."

The problem of defining exactly what we mean by political behavior is a vexing one. Political scientists have tended to define this area within the discipline in terms of method (field work, rigorous empiricism, new forms of analysis, theoretical concerns) rather than subject matter. But to the extent it does have substantive meaning, that subject matter centers around the political individual and the "micropolitical" view, the view of the individual in the system rather than the system as a whole. It is the area of political science concerned with the political attitudes and actions of individuals and aggregates of individuals as they attempt to gain and exert influence in the political system.

Since this is the newest field in political science, it is, not unexpectedly, also the "thinnest" in scholarly literature. Indeed, the discipline is really only in its first generation of scholarship in the area. A good share of its work in behavior is in article rather than book form. Furthermore, since the overlap with other social sciences is so great at a number of points, the social sciences have joined to produce a scholarly effort which crosses disciplinary lines. One will find, for example, both political scientists and sociologists studying the power elites of local communities. And in some cases, political scientists have deferred almost entirely to scholarship in other disciplines. The empirical study of political leadership has, for instance, found few practitioners in political science.

For convenience's sake, the study of political behavior can be broken into these general areas:

1) Political Socialization and Political Culture

Here one asks the "first" questions in political behavior: How does the individual acquire his attitudes, values, and goals for the political system? Or to state the problem precisely, what are his attitudes, how does he acquire them, and why do his differ from those of other men? The importance of these questions need hardly be stressed. The individual's own political activities will be determined by his know-

ledge of the political system, his evaluations of it, his own feelings of loyalty and responsibility to it, and his own estimates of his efficacy in it.

Generally, political scientists are agreed that the basic determinants of the political socialization of the individual are the immediate groups with which he is in contact: his family and immediate social group, and later his educational and occupational associates. Consequently, one finds these attitudes and perceptions related to social class and to economic-occupational groups. American business and labor disagree not only on policy goals (e. g., to pass or not to pass "right to work laws") but they differ as well on basic values about government itself (e. g., the proper role of government in the economy, or the desirability of a "states rights" position in American federalism).

The mechanisms of socialization are, however, less clear. Some political values and attitudes are taught overtly, as in the civics classroom. Others are learned informally -- from family conversation, radio and TV, conversations with associates. Still others may be transferred from non-political contexts; habits of group consultation and decision-making may be transferred from the family or school context to the political. And the process goes on over a lifetime. It is true that recent studies suggest the child has extensive impressions of political authority and institutions by 10 years or so. But new experiences -- such as that of leaving the family circle -- bring the individual into new groups which may rather drastically alter his outlooks. Some evidence indicates, for example, that the city-dweller's move to upper-middle class suburbs is often accompanied by a "conversion" to new suburban outlooks and values.

Collectively, these individual political perceptions and values constitute the "political culture" of the society. It is, however, a subject political scientists are only beginning to explore. Common sense indicates an American political culture in which politics and the politician are deeply suspect; Robert Wood has pointed out that this anti-party, anti-political culture has reached something of a zenith in American suburbia. Also a recent five-nation study has defined different cultures in Italy, Mexico, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. In the last 2 countries the authors find the values of confidence in the system, belief in political participation, and feelings of the efficacy of the politically active individual -- attitudes all necessary for democratic self-government -- most prevalent.

2) Personality and Politics

American political science has long had an implicit bias against psychological theories of political behavior. The Freudian theories, for example, have hardly touched the discipline. Only recently have there been attempts to relate personality characteristics to political attitudes and behavior.

The main group of these efforts have attempted to relate psychological variables to political atti-

tudes and perceptions. McCloskey has related deviant personality characteristics (anomic feelings, pessimism, submissiveness, paranoia, etc.) to a generalized conservative ideology. In many ways his findings are congruent with the studies of the "Authoritarian personality," which identify a suspicious, rigid, ethnocentric personality syndrome, and with Eric Hoffer's identification of the "true believer," a political ideologist and dogmatist with authoritarian inclinations. They, in turn, appear to relate to Eric Fromm's discussion of the quest for certainty and authority, the need to "escape from freedom" and its difficult responsibilities. But it should be emphasized that these are, first of all, preliminary and controversial soundings, and that secondly, they deal only with one, rather vaguely defined personality type.

Most of political science's knowledge about personality and political behavior (and roles) is impressionistic and intuitive. Clearly, important personal needs may be satisfied by both the leader and the led; we have had more than a little armchair analysis of "father figures" in the political arena, for example. All one can say here is that we have no great empirical knowledge and no real analytical framework. Clearly, one's mental health and personal adjustment will affect the way he sees and reacts to political reality. The subject is especially important when the man is a judge, a Senator, or a Secretary of Defense. But, for obvious reasons, one does not take a personality inventory of a legislature or a collegial court; again we are thrown back on observation and political biography.

3) Political Activity and Inactivity

Political "activity" includes, perhaps, a wider range of participations in the political process than the average citizen might suspect: voting, lobbying, discussing politics, joining an interest group or party, running for office, campaigning for others, even reading and acquiring knowledge about politics. One of the first tasks in this regard is the description of the magnitudes of activity and their differentials. In general, the amount of activity of the average citizen falls far short of the mythological "good citizen" in a democracy. Empirical reality does not square with the democratic model -- a state of affairs which has prompted some scholars to reexamine the model.

The main differentials in political activity relate to social characteristics. Activity is greatest among higher income, educational, and social status groups; time, money, social skills, and special role expectations all impel them to activity. Passivity and inactivity is, conversely, related with lower status groups and women (who still to some extent find their political role limited by views of their "proper place"). It results not only from the lack of skills, resources, and expectations of these groups, but from their sense of alienation from the community, their sense of powerlessness in it, and their feeling of having no "stake" in it. Inactivity also appears to result from "cross-cutting,"

conflicting political cues or expectations. The Republican woman who marries a life-long Democrat, or the Republican worker who joins an actively pro-Democratic union, may solve the "internal" political conflict by withdrawing from political activity.

4) Elites and Leadership

This topic area has included the studies of elites, of leadership, and of organizational oligarchies. What binds them together is their similar concerns with the "super-ordinate few" -- the influentials and organizers -- rather than the "subordinate many."

In the study of elites, by far the greatest amount of work has been done in the local communities. The task has been that of identifying the influential few and the reasons for their influence. By and large American political scientists have been critical of elitist theories which posit one single elite (as Floyd Hunter has done for the local community and C. Wright Mills has done for the American nation), especially if they are based on a single explanatory theory (such as the economic determinism of the Marxists). They would prefer to accept theories (such as Dahl's) which describe influence in a set of elites which have different interests, members, and bases of power.

As for leadership, political scientists accept the main literature from other social sciences. They accept in general the "situational" approach to leadership, in which the skills and function of the leader are considered to vary with the leadership situation. That is to say, they have abandoned any attempt to identify a set of universal leadership "traits." They will, however, accept some "types" of leaders, or prototypic forms of leadership -- such as Max Weber's charismatic and bureaucratic types -- so long as one understands their relativity to the "situation." They are also increasingly viewing the leadership phenomenon as a two-way relationship in which the needs of both leader and led are satisfied.

Finally, American political scientists study the influential few within political organizations (parties and interest groups, chiefly). They have accepted the main force of Roberto Michels' iron law of oligarchy" which says that in any large organization the "few" with skills and interest will run the organization. Scholars have been quick to seize the implications of this fact (and its corrolaries) for political organization. A large share of the work on interest groups (such as Oliver Garceau on the American Medical Association) and parties (e. g., the work of E. E. Schattschneider) have reflected the Michels' thesis.

5) Political Organizations

Some of the organizing and aggregating of influence in the political system is done by the elites, leaders, and oligarchies we have just mentioned. But the largest share of it is done by two main forms of political institution: the political party and the interest group. While the political party is an entirely political organization in that it uses

only political means (often chiefly elections) to achieve its goals, the interest group uses political means (and [illegible]) only part of the time to achieve its goals.

Since the political party (and the behavior of its voters) may have been dealt with in another curriculum paper, no more mention will be made of them here.

The study of interest groups has scarcely begun. Some scholars have begun to describe the range of their concerns and tactics, serving largely to expand the old "lobbyist" notion to one of interest groups operating in all places where public policy is made and to which they have "access." Studies of litigating interest groups which manage constitutional test cases show, for example, the variety of interest group operation.

Another focus has been that of the internal politics within the interest group. In part, this approach has applied Michels' iron law, and in part, it has reflected the new inter-disciplinary organizational theory. But in general, we know far less than we do about parties, even though one could ask the same questions of the groups that we ask of parties. Do they work in systems? Do they compete? How loyal are their members? What are the nature of their goals? What determines their success or failure?

Bibliography

The bibliography of political behavior is neither extensive nor well-defined. There is, for example, no real treatise or textbook in the field. There are three books of readings, however. The best of them is probably that of Nelson Polsby et al., Politics and Social Life (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963). See also Sidney Ulmer, Introductory Readings in Political Behavior (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1961) and Heinz Eulau et al., Political Behavior (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956). All three of the books of readings include materials of broader subject range than we treat in this paper; that is to say, they deal with the behavioral "approach" throughout the entire discipline.

In the area of political socialization and political culture, the only work squarely in the subject is Herbert Hyman's Political Socialization (Glencoe: Free Press, 1958). But very relevant is Robert Lane, Political Life (Glencoe: Free Press, 1959), a study of political participation, and David Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: Knopf, 1951), a study of the group basis of political life and activity. Robert Wood in his Suburbia (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1958), offers a fine impressionistic view of an American political sub-culture. The five-nation study is that of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

On the question of personality and politics, the journal artcles of Herbert McCloskey are particularly suggestive. See especially his article on conservatism and personality in the March 1958, Ameri-

can Political Science Review. Eric Hoffer's True Believer (New York: Harper, 1951) and T. W. Adorno et al., The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper, 1950) are classics. See also political biographies such as Arnold Rogow's of James Forrestal and Richard Rovere of Joseph McCarthy.

The literature on activity and inactivity tends to be spread through works such as those mentioned above. See especially Lane's Political Life, and the Almond-Verba study. Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960) and Bernard Berelson et al., Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 19) discuss the problem in relation to voting.

The study of the various forms of leadership and elite groups has, however, produced a greater literature. Roberto Michels' Political Parties (reprinted in numerous editions since its publication in 1915), deals despite its title with oligarchy in large organizations. For excellent articles on leadership see the relevant articles in the three readers mentioned earlier. The better known of the community power studies would include: Robert Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1961), C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), and Robert Presthus, Men at the Top (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

Unhappily, there is not too much to recommend in the study of interest groups. One satisfactory, although largely descriptive textbook is available: Harmon Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964). An older classic study of the internal precesses of an interest group is Oliver Garceau, The Political Life of the American Medical Association (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941). The Truman book cited above integrates a great deal of the interest group literature into its frame work, and its bibliography is especially good.

APPENDIX

EXERCISE ON NEWSPAPER TECHNIQUES USED IN MOULDING OPINIONS

(Developed by Zenith Santee)

INTRODUCTION:

In a democracy it is important for people to have opinions on many important questions of the day. Are taxes too high--or too low? Are the schools doing a good job -- or could they do better? Should we spend more money on atom bombs -- or less? Should we vote for candidate C or D?

Some of the convenient sources of getting information that build opinions are newspapers, magazines, books, radio and television stations, and informed persons who report an incident after seeing it first hand.

It is important for you, as students, to learn to examine sources of information critically. It is not uncommon for a news media to mislead its readers on a certain question. This may not be due to any maliciousness on the part of the newspaper. It is probably due more to the normal human bias of the individuals who are responsible for the information being presented by that particular news media.

I. The following paragraph was printed in a prominent newspaper in Illinois. It appeared during the presidential campaign between the late John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon.

> "Kennedy has an equally choice collection of friends in the field of domestic affairs. We are not speaking particularly of Frank Sinatra and his Rat Pack. Such pals of Mr. Kennedy are more smelly than dangerous."

Questions:

1. Was this article for or against Mr. Kennedy?

2. What is the general "tone" or attitude of the paragraph?

3. What might the author have said if Sinatra had supported Nixon?

II. A rival newspaper followed a similar pattern, only it was done pictorialy. It carried a cartoon showing a man labeled U. S. A. lying on the ground, having just been run over by a car driven by Eisenhower and Nixon. Kennedy, the doctor, is trying to pick up the victim while Eisenhower and Nixon watch with angry expressions.

Questions:

1. What point was being made in the cartoon?

2. Which candidate did this newspaper obviously support?

III, Often a newspaper can actually present the facts -- true facts at that -- and STILL be able to lead people to opposite conclusions. This can be done by the choice of a headline for an important news story. Often -- too often -- we select items we wish to read by scanning the headlines of the various news items and when we find one that attracts our attention, we read the entire article. Some items of vital importance are often bypassed because of an intentional uninteresting or dull headline.

EXAMPLE ARTICLE:

Debate over the new school construction proposed by Mayor Potter got underway yesterday at City Hall.

Frank Carter, President of the Seneca Avenue Community Association, bitterly attacked the proposal for violating the rights of about a hundred residents whose homes were to be destroyed to make way for the new school. He declared, "There's plenty of land over at the east end of town. It will cost us a lot less and nobody will lose his home. It's a disgrace for Mayor Potter to introduce such a plan."

He was followed by Mrs. Amy Schider, President of the P. T. A., who stated, "Mr. Carter knows full well that our children can't walk two miles to the east end of town. Is he willing to pay for the buses that would be needed to transport six hundred children every day? It's a silly proposal!"

Possible headlines that could be written for this simple news item:

1. MAYOR'S PROPOSAL ATTACKED AS "DISGRACE"

2. CARTER CALLED "SILLY"

3. 100 RESIDENTS TO BE DISPLACED

4. NEW SCHOOL PROPOSED FOR 600 CHILDREN.

5. CARTER PROPOSES TWO MILE WALK FOR KIDS

6. SCHIDER ATTACKS CARTER

7. CARTER ATTACKS MAYOR

8. MAYOR UNDER FIRE

9. SCHOOL PROPOSAL DISCUSSED.

Questions:

1. Which headlines attract the most attention? Why?

2. Which headline is the most objective (accurate)?

3. What type of person would read the article regardless of which headline is used?

4. If headline number 9 was used, would many people read the article? Explain.

5. How has the newspaper been completely honest and at the same time been rather biased if headline number 1 was used?

6. Might it be possible for a newspaper to be guilty of "cardstacking" through headlines without realizing it?

IV. Another common method of cardstacking is to quote a statement OUT OF CONTEXT. Consider the following excerpt from the review of a movie:

> Trend magazine called this movie ---"remarkable," with "millions of dollars' worth of talent.....brilliantly realistic settings.....top photographs.....gorgeous scenery."

Curiously TREND thought the movie was wonderful but they may really have said:

> "This movie is remarkable in the way Hollywood can bring together millions of dollars' worth of talent, creat brilliantly realistic settings, hire top photographers to take gorgeous scenery and then waste it all on a plot so utterly miserable that we had to walk out in the middle of the show."

This device is basically a card-stacking technique because the selector chooses to quote only those words and phrases that suit his purpose and eliminates those that do not advance it.

EXERCISE ON FACTS, INFERENCES, AND VALUE JUDGMENTS

Directions: In the list below place and F in front of any factual statement (whether you believe it to be true or false). Place an I in front of statements which are inferences or generalizations from facts. Place a V in front of statements which represent value judgments.

___1. The Democratic Party has done more for this country than the Republican Party has.

___2. What the election proved was that the American people did not support the President's policy on Indochina.

___3. Lyndon Johnson won more popular votes than Barry Goldwater in the 1964 election.

___4. We must elect candidates who have voted for foreign aid programs.

___5. The Republicans should nominate a Presidential candidate who is not so conservative as Goldwater.

___6. Political parties try to appeal to voters of very different political views.

___7. In the last public opinion poll on Johnson's popularity, less than half of the people polled said that they thought Johnson was doing a good job as President.

___8. Two groups are more likely to compromise if they are fairly equal in strength than if one is much stronger than the other.

EXERCISE ON WHOLE-PART REASONING

Below are several statements, each followed by a generalization. If you think the generalization is justified from the data given in the preceding statement, place a cross (X) in the space at the left. If you do not think the facts in the statement sufficient to justify the conclusion, explain why they do not do so.

___1. Mr. Blank, a Republican office holder, was convicted for misusing public funds for his own benefit. The Republican Party is a party of corruption.

___2. The Democratic Party platform calls for repealing the Taft-Hartley Act. Mr. Zero, the Democratic candidate for Congress from this district, favors repealing the act.

EXERCISE ON ASSUMPTIONS

In each of the following sections there is an argument used for or against a certain proposal. Following each argument is a list. Place an X in front of the idea which must be an assumption of the speaker if the argument is to be logical.

Issue: Should the 18-year old be allowed to vote?

Argument: Yes. If the 18 year old is old enough to fight, he is old enough to vote.

___1. 18-year olds, who have just finished high school, have as much knowledge about government as do their elders.

___2. The characteristics of a good voter and of a good fighter are the same, requiring the same degree of maturity.

___3. Citizens who are affected the most drastically by government decisions concerning war and peace should be permitted to vote.

Issue: Should people be fined if they meet voting qualifications but fail to vote.

Argument: Yes. It is as much a duty of a citizen to vote as it is for him to fight for his country. Democracy cannot exist without a citizenry that goes to the polls and votes; if most of the citizens vote, democracy is assured.

___1. Those who go to the polls will vote intelligently.

___2. The characteristics of a good voter and of a good fighter are the same.

___3. A country cannot be said to be democratic unless the men elected to office have been chosen by over half of all the qualified voters in the country.

EXERCISE ON GERRYMANDERING

Membership in the House of Representatives is based upon population. The only exception is that small states have one representative even if they do not have enough people to justify one.

How is the number of representatives for each state determined? After each census, Congress divides the total population of the U. S. by the number of representatives in the House. (Formerly, it added to this number. However, it no longer wishes to increase the size of the House. WHY NOT?)

This gives the number of people for each representative. Some states will have gained population rapidly during the past ten years. They will deserve more representatives. Others will have either gained more slowly or lost population. They will lose representatives. WHY MIGHT A STATE THAT HAS GAINED SLOWLY STILL LOSE A REPRESENTATIVE?

By custom in the United States, representatives from a state are elected from congressional districts or areas. The state legislature draws the district lines. If a state has lost a representative, the state will have too many districts. If a state has gained representatives, it will have too few. The state legislature will have to redraw district lines.

The power to draw district lines gives the majority party in the state legislature a big advantage. Suppose both houses are controlled by the Republicans. They might try to draw district lines so that more Republicans will be elected to Congress. If the Democrats controlled the legislature, they would do the same thing. Difficulties arise when one party controls one house of the legislature and the other party controls the second house. Then compromises have to be worked out. WHY MIGHT DIFFERENT PARTIES CONTROL EACH HOUSE?

Now look at the map of districts in Oklahoma. To simplify things, only one county is shown. This is Tulsa County, with the largest population in Oklahoma. It usually votes Republican. It is in the Fourth District.

You will notice that there are six districts in Oklahoma. WHY? In the table below you will find the vote totals for these districts in one of Oklahoma's elections. Examine it and answer the questions which follow.

	Republican	Democrat
1st District	102,585	46,949
2nd District	50,481	65,968
3rd District	no candidate	56,010
4th District	no candidate	66,000
5th District	40,825	90,392
6th District	48,985	56,418

Questions:

1. Which party won the most seats? How many?

2. What is the total vote for each party throughout the state?

3. Suppose Tulsa County had been included in the second district. Do you think it would have made any difference in the election outcome?